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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 366



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CHINA REPORT

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

VIETNAM URGED TO IMPLEMENT UN RESOLUTIONS

OW280304 Beijing XINHUA in English 0248 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, October 27 (XINHUA)--Vietnam was urged to implement the resolutions adopted at the past three sessions of the General Assembly which call for an end to its military occupation of Kampuchea and for a comprehensive political settlement to the Kampuchean problem, when the assembly's debate on the question of Kampuchea entered its second day today.

The representative for Pakistan Sardar Shahnawaz said that Vietnam had been guilty of violating a sacrosanct principle of international law for which it had been rightly censured by the United Nations. "A blueprint for the political settlement of the Kampuchean crisis has been laid down in the resolutions of the assembly, and in the declaration adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea," he stressed.

Ali Alatas, representative of Indonesia, stated that a comprehensive political solution could be achieved within the framework established by United Nations resolutions and on the basis of the principles laid down by the conference. His government called especially on Vietnam to participate in the future efforts of the international conference so that a peaceful and durable solution could be achieved.

The representative of New Zealand Harold Francis said that his government fully supported the political framework that was adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea.

U.S. representative William C. Sherman pointed out that over the past three years, the General Assembly had stood firm against Vietnam's aggression and had insisted that Vietnam totally withdraw from occupied Kampuchea. This year, he stressed, "we have an opportunity in the form of this resolution to renew our commitment to the goal of an independent Kampuchea."

Speaking on behalf of the European Community countries, representative of Denmark Niels Helsov stressed that the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces was "an indispensable step in returning Kampuchea to normality."

Ignac Golob, representative of Yugoslavia, said that the framework for a political solution of the Kampuchean problem should be based "only on the withdrawal of foreign troops and on the elimination of foreign intervention."

Representatives in their statements attached importance to the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk.

Other speakers pointed out that the draft resolution before the General Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea reaffirmed the basic principles contained in the resolutions of the past three sessions and pledged their support for it.

CSO: 4000/12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI UN REPRESENTATIVE SPEAKS ON KAMPUCHEA

OW280956 Beijing XINHUA in English 0708 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Text] United Nations, October 27 (XINHUA)--Thai representative Birabhongse Kasemsri said here today that foreign military occupation of Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination is the core issue for a solution to the Kampuchean problem.

Addressing the UN General Assembly, Kasemsri noted that the formation of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea is "a positive step" towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The Thai representative urged the General Assembly into support for the present draft resolution on Kampuchea in order to keep alive the hopes of the Kampuchean people for a just, peaceful and lasting settlement to the tragic situation.

On the Vietnam-proposed limited International Conference on Southeast Asia, Kasemsri said such a conference would only serve to legitimize the continued foreign military occupation of Kampuchea.

He said the proposed conference "has hidden flaws and serious pitfalls" for, first and foremost, there is no assurance that the core issue of foreign military occupation of Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination would be the focus of attention at such a conference.

Commenting on the Vietnamese foreign minister's tour of some ASEAN countries last July, Kasemsri said out of the expectation of the ASEAN countries, it was disappointing that there were little signs of any substantive change in Vietnam's position.

The Thai representative exposed hypocrisy of the Vietnam-claimed partial withdrawal. He said persistent reports of a continuing build-up of infantry, mechanized and air units as well as introductions of fresh Vietnamese troops into Kampuchea all pointed to "the exaggerated nature of the claim."

He expressed the fear that the forthcoming Vietnam's dry-season offensive might intensify the fighting, trigger a new mass exodus of refugees and cause more incursions by the Vietnamese forces across the border. The Thai representative believed that despite violent protracted campaigns by the foreign forces to crush the resistance, the Kampuchean resistance movement had gained added strength and momentum.

CSO: 4000/12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'VODK' EDITORIAL HAILS UN VOTE TO RETAIN DK SEAT

OW271119 Beijing XINHUA in English 0815 GMT 27 Oct 82

[Text] Beijing, October 27 (XINHUA)--The UN General Assembly's vote to retain the seat of Democratic Kampuchea in the world organization by an overwhelming majority has greatly encouraged the Kampuchean people in their struggle to resist vietnamese invaders.

This was stated by RADIO DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA in an editorial today.

The UN vote is also an inspiration and support to the small and weak nations in their struggle against foreign aggression, expansion and interference and for the safeguarding of sovereignty and independence, it stressed.

The radio says Vietnam has suffered setbacks in its attempts to unseat Democratic Kampuchea. This time Vietnam's setback is even more dismal.

The radio hails the UN vote as "a magnificent victory of Kampuchea's just struggle against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation. It is a common victory for all peace-loving forces in the world upholding justice and independence as well as a dismal defeat for the Soviet-Vietnamese expansionists in the international arena."

The radio says the result of the UN voting shows that the international community will never accept any acts which trample on the UN Charter and principles governing international relations. It also shows the international community firmly opposes the Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea and the strategy of the Soviet Union and Vietnam to extend aggression to Southeast Asia.

CSO: 4000/12

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON BETTER INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS

HK141307 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 82 p 7

["News Roundup" column by Li Wenzheng [2621 2429 2398]: "Relations Between Bangladesh and India Are Improving"]

[Text] Bangladesh Chief Martial Law Administrator Hussain Mohammad Ershad paid a formal visit to India from 6-7 October and held friendly talks with Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. The current visit has been beneficial to improving the relations between the two countries that have been tense in the past few years.

During the visit, the two sides signed a document setting the terms of the lease in perpetuity of the Tin Bigha Corridor by India to Bangladesh to connect the two enclaves of Bangladesh--Dahagram and Angarpota. This document was signed to satisfy the needs of Bangladesh.

The two sides also signed a document establishing a common economic commission. India and Bangladesh have always had close economic connections. Ever since Lt Gen Ershad came to power, he has attached importance to economic connections with India. This year, when Bangladesh was in urgent need of grain from July to September, India released 100,000 tons of wheat which it had imported from Canada and the United States and lent to Bangladesh. At present, India exports \$73 million of commodities a year to Bangladesh, while purchasing only \$12 million worth of Bangladeshi products. The establishment of the common economic commission will surely be conducive to both sides in further and better coordinating and cooperating in the economic sphere.

The issue of Ganges River water was a prominent topic in the high-level talks between the two countries. Some press commentators considered that the problem of Ganges River water was one of the most important topics in the high-level talks. After the talks, an Indian spokesman said: "The talks achieved further progress in reaching a new agreement on sharing the Ganges waters during the dry seasons."

The agreement on sharing the Ganges waters signed in November 1977 is due to expire on 4 November 1982. This agreement did not fundamentally solve the problem of both sides sharing the Ganges waters. Since India built a dam in Faraka not far from where the Ganges River enters Bangladesh, every year in the

dry season, there is a serious shortage of Ganges River water entering Bangladesh. This affects the production of industry and agriculture, communications and transportation and people's lives in Bangladesh. The Ganges River Valley, within Bangladesh, occupies 36 percent of the total area of the whole country. Twenty-five percent of the cultivated land of Bangladesh relies on irrigation from the Ganges River and the livelihood of 33 percent of the population is closely linked with the Ganges River.

At the end of his visit, Ershad told reporters, the two sides agreed to study within 18 months how to work out a long-term solution. During this period, the two countries agreed to continue to share the Ganges waters on the basis of the 1977 agreement.

Two or 3 years before Lieutenant General Ershad came to power in March 1982, the leaders of the two countries visited each other several times and discussed the problems of sharing the Ganges waters but they were still not thoroughly solved. Last year, the two countries had a dispute about the sovereignty of a newly discovered island in the Bay of Bengal, and relations between the two countries became strained. Since Lieutenant General Ershad came to power, he has adopted measures and made efforts to improve relations with India. After the current talks, both sides did not even issue any opinion on the matter.

Prior to the high-level talks between India and Bangladesh, some observers were not optimistic. They believed that by January 1983, it would be impossible for the two sides to reach any new agreement but that they might work out some temporary arrangement. Lieutenant General Ershad was hopeful and quite optimistic. He told reporters that his present visit was "successful," that the two countries were advancing in the direction of "perpetual solution" of the problems between them and that they have agreed to improve relations between the two countries. Another achievement of the high-level talks is that the two sides signed a memorandum of mutual understanding on the problem of sharing the Ganges waters.

CSO: 4005/131

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SWAPO OFFICIAL'S WARNING--Dakar, October 29 (XINHUA)--The Namibian people will carry on their armed struggle if political and diplomatic mediation fails, declared a representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) here today. Eddy S. Amkongo, SWAPO representative to Western Africa, was speaking at a press conference held here today, the second day of the current week of solidarity with the Namibian people. He stated that as the South African regime has been arrogantly stubborn and the west contact group has adopted a double-faced attitude, prospects for a just solution to the Namibia issue have waned. The argument that the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution No 435 should be linked with the withdrawal of the Cuban troops in Angola is a plot to indefinitely put off a solution to the problem, he added. Amkongo said the armed struggles carried out by SWAPO in Namibia and the African National Congress in South Africa are weakening the South African racist regime. He also appealed to the peace-loving people in Africa and the world as a whole to give material support to SWAPO and the Azania African National Congress. [Text] [OW301622 Beijing XINHUA in English 1512 GMT 30 Oct 82]

'ARAFAT MEETS NONALIGNED COMMITTEE--Tunis, October 23 (XINHUA)--Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, had a discussion here today with the delegation of the Palestine issue committee of the non-aligned countries on the consequences caused by Israel's aggression in the occupied lands and Lebanon. During the two-hour meeting, they also discussed the means to help Palestinians resist the Israeli aggression and other issues. At a press conference after the meeting, 'Arafat said that the delegation had reaffirmed the determination of the non-aligned countries to resolutely support the Palestinian people in their struggle for a just cause including the rights to return to their homelands, self-determination and the establishment of an independent state on the Palestinian land. The delegation arrived here this morning after a ministerial meeting of the Palestine issue committee held in Nicosia, capital of Cyprus. A communique issued at the end of the ministerial meeting stressed that Israel should withdraw completely and unconditionally from all the Palestinian lands it has occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem. [Text] [OW241616 Beijing XINHUA in English 1502 GMT 24 Oct 82]

SENEGALESE THANKS FOR TECHNICAL AID--Dakar, October 25 (XINHUA)--The last three of 60 China-aided wells in Senegal were inaugurated recently by Prime Minister Habib Thiam. The three wells are located in Maka-Couli Bantan, Koussanar and Koumpentoum of Tambacounda Province, East Senegal. The supply system with each

well includes a tower, two ponds and water troughs for animals. The drilling of the 60 wells with the help of Chinese technicians started five years ago to improve the water supply to the farmers in five of the eight administrative divisions of the country. The whole project costs one billion CFAF (one U.S. dollar equals 338 CFAF). Speaking at the inauguration ceremony Wednesday, Thiam thanked the Chinese Government and technicians for their assistance. He called on farmers to take good care of these wells and prevent waste of water. He said, the Senegalese Government will carry out the policy of ensuring the supply of adequate water for every citizen. For that purpose, it plans to invest 40 billion CFAF in the rural development in the period from now to 1985. [Text] [OW251315 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 25 Oct 82]

PAKISTANI, INDIAN LEADERS' TALKS--New Delhi, November 1 (XINHUA)--Pakistan President General Mohammad Ziaul Haq and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi held talks here today while Zia made a stopover en route to Kuala Lumpur. In their two rounds of talks, they discussed issues such as a no-war pact suggested by Pakistan and a treaty of peace and friendship proposed by India, as well as global and regional matters. President Zia also visited Indian President Zail Singh. A joint press statement issued this afternoon said that India and Pakistan agreed to establish a joint commission. Officials of the two countries will meet in New Delhi next month to discuss the Pakistan draft of a non-aggression pact and the Indian draft of a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation, the statement said. The statement said that the two leaders looked forward to continuing their discussions at the time of the non-aligned summit meeting in New Delhi next March. Talking to newsmen before his departure this afternoon, Zia described his talks with Mrs Gandhi as "excellent" and hoped they could pave the way for better relations between India and Pakistan. Mrs Gandhi said: "The talks were cordial as well." This is the first time in nearly 10 years that a Pakistan head of state has been on Indian soil. The last occasion was in 1972 when the then Pakistan Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto came to India to sign the Simla Agreement between the two countries. [Text] [OW012013 Beijing XINHUA in English 1537 GMT 1 Nov 82]

INDONESIAN-SRV TALKS--Beijing, October 30 (XINHUA)--Talks between Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach and his Indonesian counterpart Mokhtar Kusumaatmaja made no headway on the Kampuchean issue, Mokhtar told newsmen in Jakarta yesterday. According to reports reaching here, during the talks in the Indonesian capital, the two sides exchanged views on ways of narrowing their differences on the Kampuchean issue. Mokhtar said there was nothing new in the two-hour discussion, "Nguyen Co Thach has not come up with anything new," he said. Singing the same old tune of "Chinese threats," Nguyen Co Thach said Vietnam would pull its troops out of Kampuchea only on condition that the Chinese threat is ended. Mokhtar said that he reiterated the Indonesian position of demanding unilateral withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. Arriving in Jakarta on October 28, the Vietnamese foreign minister is on a four-day visit to Indonesia. [Text] [OW302024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1853 GMT 30 Oct 82]

THAI TROOPS 'ON ALERT'--Bangkok, October 27 (XINHUA)--Commander in Chief of the Thai Army Athit Kamlang-ek said yesterday that Thai troops are on alert in border areas against possible foreign invasion. Kamlang-ek made the remarks to reporters after presiding over a ceremony for decorating jet pilots. Asked

about the possible danger to the security of Thailand by a large-scale Vietnamese military operation in Kampuchea, he said that there might be an assault on the resistance force in Kampuchea in the coming dry season. "As armymen, we must get well prepared and deal telling blows to the invaders to safeguard our national security if they intrude into our territory," he said. [Text]
[OW271421 Beijing XINHUA in English 1252 GMT 27 Oct 82]

THAILAND COMMENTS ON CONFLICTS--Bangkok, November 1 (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon said yesterday that the present conflict in Southeast Asia is the result of Vietnam's "armed invasion and occupation of Kampuchea." Speaking at the opening ceremony for the 4th meeting of the Standing Committee of the World Veterans Organization, the prime minister said that Thailand and its ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) partners will continue their search for a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchea problem. The five ASEAN countries are firm in their commitment to peace and stability in Southeast Asia, he added. Prem stressed that the Kampuchea problem is a major obstacle to durable peace in the region. He called for the implementation of relevant UN resolutions which demand the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and the restoration of the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people. He pointed out that though Thailand is not a party to the conflict in Kampuchea it still has to bear the burden of taking care of hundreds of thousands of refugees. The Kampuchea question and other Indo-chinese problems are main topics being discussed at the three-day meeting of World Veterans Organization. [Text] [OW010922 Beijing XINHUA in English 0707 GMT 1 Nov 82]

INDIAN STAND TOWARD KAMPUCHEA--Bangkok, October 31 (XINHUA)--Thailand and other ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries are dissatisfied with the speech of the Indian delegate at the UN General Assembly on the Kampuchea problem. This was made clear by Thai Undersecretary of State in the Foreign Ministry Arsa Sarasin to Indian Ambassador Here Ashok Bhalchandra Gokhale October 29. Sarasin described the speech, which condemned the stand of the ASEAN and the Democratic Kampuchean Coalition Government headed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, as an unfriendly act toward Thailand and other ASEAN countries. He said: "The Indian attitude at the UN General Assembly will seriously affect India's relations with all the ASEAN countries. It demonstrated India's intention not to value its friendship with them. It will probably be submitted to the next ASEAN ministerial meeting for discussion." Sarasin asked the Indian ambassador to convey the Thai views to the Indian Government. Thailand is the current chairman of the ASEAN Permanent Committee. According to AFP, Thailand was speaking on behalf of the five ASEAN countries. [Text] [OW011028 Beijing XINHUA in English 0739 GMT 01 Nov 82]

CSO: 4000/12

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS PROMOTED

Shanghai CCPC Notice

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 6 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Calls on All Party and Youth League Members to Conscientiously Study the Documents From the 12th National Party Congress.

On the 3rd day, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee issued a notice regarding the study of the documents from the 12th Party Congress and called upon all party and Youth League members throughout the municipality to conscientiously read Comrade Deng Xizoping's opening speech at the 12th National Party Congress and the report by Comrade Hu Yaobang, the representative of the Party Central Committee, and to engage in conscientious propaganda among the masses. The notice also points out that a similar procedure is to be followed in future cases of all documents that the Party Central Committee shall publish in the press, without awaiting further instructions from higher authority.

Shanghai CCPC, People's Congress Forum

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 6 Sep 82 p 1

[Article: "Comrades Who Spoke at the Forum Reviewed the Huge Achievements Since the Third Plenary Session and Expressed Full Confidence in the Realization of the Grand Program"]

[Text] On the afternoon of the 4th day, the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee called the first study and discussion forum of the standing committee members in Shanghai and of a section of responsible cadres in departments, commissions and groups for a conscientious study and discussion of the opening speech of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the report given by Comrade Hu Yaobang.

The secretary of the Party Committee, Han Zheyi [7281 0772 0001] chaired the study and discussion meeting on the 4th. He said, the Municipal Party Committee issued a notice to conscientiously read and study the documents

from the 12th National Party Congress. We want to be among the first to study, first to make a serious study of the opening speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and link it with a discussion and appreciation of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report, of which an abstract was published in the press, to be followed by further penetrating studies.

At the study and discussion meeting on the 4th, the following six comrades made speeches: Yang Kai [2799 1956], Zhang Chengzong [1728 2110 1350], Yang Shifa [2799 1102 3127], Zhao Xingzhi [6392 5887 1807], Ye Shangzhi [0673 1424 1807] and Li Peinan [2621 1014 0589].

The comrades who spoke at the meeting were all agreed that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech was terse but comprehensive as he touched upon many questions of fundamental principles. Everyone gained a good deal of enlightenment from the way Comrade Deng related to the 7th and 8th National Party Congress and elucidated the historical position and great significance of the 12th National Party Congress. The speakers reviewed the history of the party and talked of the importance of summing up positive and negative historical experiences. Some comrades expressed that the historical experiences which were summed up at the 12th National Party Congress had been bought at a heavy price and must be treasured as extremely valuable. The correct guiding principles determined on this basis are bound to guide us to new victories.

The comrades who spoke at the meeting related to the history of our party in conscientiously studying particularly that section of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech where he said: "The basic conclusion to be drawn from a summing up of our protracted historical experiences is that we must integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of our country, so as to go our own way and build a socialism with Chinese characteristics." In this way they gained a further understanding of the importance of linking theory with practice, of upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts and of starting out from the realities in all affairs. Some comrades said, as to the "leftist" and rightist errors that have been committed in the course of our revolution and construction, their ideological roots had been the split between the subjective and the objective viewpoints and the parting of the ways between theory and practice. As we look back on the victories and setbacks that our party has experienced, we feel even more touched by what Comrade Deng Xiaoping expressed in the mentioned phrase. Some comrades said, only by firmly upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts and by rectifying our ideological line can we avoid vacillating now to the "left," now to the right, and in order to safeguard the correctness of our ideological line it is necessary to develop democracy and implement democratic centralism. Since the Third Plenary Session, the Party Central Committee has given us a good example in this respect, and another brilliant example was set by the present Party Congress. In this respect Comrade Hu Yaobang particularly discussed the question of the great effort needed to build up a high degree of socialist democracy.

Comrades who spoke at the meeting related to the actual work and social phenomena during the last few years in their conscientious study of that

section of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening speech where he said: "Our standpoint in the past as well as at present and in the future is to maintain our independence, self-determination and self-reliance." The comrades all agreed that this has been the consistent policy of our party and that it must be continuously adhered to. Some speakers said, only by maintaining independence, self-determination and self-reliance will we be able to go our own way and to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of our country. The speakers also said that certain unhealthy phenomena that appeared within the party and in our society in general were not brought about by the policy of opening up our country, but rather by the deficiencies in our ideological and practical work. We are determined to follow Comrade Deng Xiaoping in implementing unswervingly the policy of opening up our country, but at the same time will preserve a clear and sober mind and resolutely resist any corrosion by decadent bourgeois ideologies.

Through their historical review, especially by enumerating the huge transformations and outstanding achievements during the short 4 years since the Third Plenary Session, the comrades who spoke at the meeting showed a sense of boundless confidence in the prospects of the future. Some speakers said, the facts fully prove that our party has much matured and will certainly show itself capable of leading the people of all nationalities throughout our entire country to an all-round initiation of a new phase of overall construction of socialist modernization.

All comrades were elated at hearing of the grand program revealed in Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and in their discussions of the relevant section of Comrade Hu Yaobang's report gained an initial understanding of its implications.

The study and discussion meeting was scheduled to be continued this afternoon.

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CSO: 4005/77

PARTY AND STATE

JURIST PAN NIANZHI INTERVIEWED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 11 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Chun Xia [2504 1115]: "Interviewing Jurist Pan Nianzhi [3382 1819 0037]--Every Citizen Should Know the Law and Obey the Law"; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] Pan Nianzhi, already aged 80, is an industrious and studious, simple and unpretentious jurist who now holds the position of deputy director of the Law Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Shanghai. In the late twenties, Pan studied law at the Meiji University in Japan and remains active in law research. He is respected in legal circles for his great experience in jurisprudence and for his ability to present his own opinions.

Although at an advanced age, Pan is healthy and vigorous. When I went to see him, he was working at home on some items for the "Law" section of the "Great Encyclopedia." On my arrival he greeted me warmly, had me sit on the sofa and made some tea.

I opened up by saying: "At your advanced age you are still keeping up with your work, that is really not easy."

Pan replied smiling: "There was a time lately when we did not pay much attention to legal work and wasted a number of years. Now we have to make up for lost time and damage done." He let us know that he took part in organizing the compilation of a number of books that provided legal information, such as a "Dictionary of Law," "Introduction to Jurisprudence," "Collected Translations of Foreign Law Studies," etc. With a sigh he said: "We have now too few books that popularize law knowledge, it is really a 'book famine.' A person who wants to study law cannot find books to read. We got out a few items which were well received by the people; for instance "Seven Popular Lectures on Law" has had an edition of 320,000 copies, but was soon sold out. Some books for which supply could not satisfy readers' demands had to be reprinted."

I said: "You really have made a contribution toward the popularization and spread of legal knowledge."

Pan replied modestly: "One cannot speak of contribution, I just did the little that was in my power to do."

"Actually, law is nothing mysterious and can be mastered by anyone," Pan said, turning to the topic of studying law. "Any country, large or small, has a uniform will, which, if written down, becomes law and constitutes the norm that everyone has to follow in all actions. This is like having to keep to the right when driving a vehicle on the road or having to stop at a red light, otherwise accidents will occur. Law manifests the will of the country and is the common norm that every single citizen must obey."

"It is always put that way, but it is not a simple matter to have every single person respect and obey the law," I put in rather unkindly.

"It is true, there are now people who feel that the law restricts personal freedoms and puts fetters on hands and feet. However, law fetters the hands and feet of only a certain kind of people, prohibiting them from being unruly in word and deed. Anyone who feels fettered is making it clear that his action would exceed the sphere of what is legally permissible. If his action would be within the sphere of what is legally permissible, he would not feel fettered."

I felt inwardly a great admiration for Pan, hearing him speak so incisively and pungently. In the report at the 12th National Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "We shall engage in propaganda and education over and over again for the legal system among all the people. From elementary schools up, all schools shall institute courses on the legal system in an effort to have every single citizen know the law and obey the law. We shall educate and supervise the broad masses of our party members to have them set examples in respecting and obeying the law." I asked Pan to comment and give his suggestions. He replied: "Apart from our Constitution, we are now also gradually establishing and perfecting various kinds of other laws. We are therefore not a country without laws to follow, but rather have the problem of having all affairs truly and factually carried out according to law. We still have a situation where existing laws are not followed. For instance, certain cadres frequently think that their own opinions can take the place of law, and some people evade responsibility for their violations of the law because they have certain connections.--Questions like these are in urgent need of solution. If we are lax in executing our laws and do not prosecute law violations, there will be an increase of law violators and the authority of the law will not be able to assert itself. It is therefore necessary not only to have everyone study the law, but also to have everyone respect the law."

9808

CSO: 4005/77

PARTY AND STATE

ESSAYS ON PARTY IDEOLOGY, CONGRESS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 4, 5, 11 Sep 82

[4 Sep 82]

[Essay by Chunhe [2504 3109]: "'The Goddess Who Flew to the Moon' and 'The Old Man Moved the Mountains'"]

[Text] "The goddess who flew to the moon" is an old fairytale; "The old man who moved the mountain" though a fable, also has a strong legendary tinge. For thousands of years, the reason why these two stories have spread far and wide is probably because they both embody the beautiful fantasy of man conquering nature! Yet, man's perception has by no means remained in the state of primitive fantasy; otherwise, there would be no social civilization like that which we experience today. With the passage of time, the legend about the goddess who "flew to the moon" has long become reality, and the magnificent feats of "moving mountains" have likewise been repeatedly witnessed! This is the inevitable outcome of scientific development. Only with science can there be the fact of fantasy turning into reality.

From this, one cannot but think of some people saying that communism is "precarious," "utopian," and other nonsense. Actually, long before the emergence of Marxism, there were people who yearned for the "Land of Peach Blossoms" and the "Utopia" type of society, and there were people who established the theory of utopian socialism and carried out experiments according to such utopianism! Yet, just as in the legend "the goddess who flew to the moon," Chang-E drank the "medicine of immortality" and was able to fly to heaven, fantasies were, after all, fantasy. One of the great merits of the great teachers of the proletariat Marx and Engels is precisely that they applied the world view and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, thoroughly studied human society and discovered the objective laws therein, and changed socialism from fantasy to science. From then on, the communist movement surged forward, and in practice continues to make progress and achieve brilliant victories. This is obvious to all. Our "precarious" and "utopian" theorists, at a time when scientific socialism has existed for over a century, still fail to see the earth-shaking change the communist movement has brought to this world and still regard science as fantasy: is this not a tragedy?!

Communism has forged ahead in practice, and in the midst of its advance it was not always a matter of smooth sailing. The enemy's opposition has been one

thing. Even we could not avoid making mistakes and the reason for these mistakes, in the final analysis, was because in the course of our advance we deviated from the path pointed out by scientific socialism. The road leading to communism cannot possibly be straight and even; lying ahead of us are countless "big mountains." We can move these big mountains, but the communist cause is not legend, nor fantasy, and we cannot expect God to dispatch the "two sons of Kua'e" to swing the mountains over their shoulders and take them away. What we need is the Foolish Old Man's spirit of "all-out efforts to level the precipice."

The Foolish Old Man is an example. There are three points about him that merit our study: First, he has a clear goal in mind; that is, he is unwilling to "take a devious road back and forth" and he is determined to remove those two big mountains so that his path can "lead straight to southern Henan, reaching the north of the Han River." Second, he has a firm faith in sure victory: "Although I will die, I still have my sons left...and my sons will have their sons, ad infinitum, the mountains will not increase; why should I worry about their not ever becoming leveled?" Third, he had an indomitable and hard-working spirit, everyday he "knocked off rocks and dug up soil" and chipped at the mountains without stop. Our "precarious" and "utopian" theorists live in a socialist society but fail to establish firmly a far-sighted communist goal in their minds; they think of a bright future, but lack faith in sure victory; they would like to live the good life, but they are unwilling to work hard. Thus, they shift the emptiness of their own thinking and the infirmity of their own faith altogether to the side of the communist cause. This idea is very dangerous, and it is also completely wrong. It is not excessive to say this. I advise you to assert your revolutionary spirit, establish communist ideals, resolve to be like the Foolish Old Man who moved the mountains, and keep pace with the times!

[5 Sep 82 p 3]

[Essay by Gong Xi [1362 1585]: "There Is Communism in Our Life"]

[Text] Where is communism? Communism is both in the future and at our side. As a social system, communism is in the future; it is the goal for which we strive. But, as an ideological system and the movement under the guidance of this ideological system, communism is at our side. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the "12th Congress": our daily life includes communism and cannot depart from communism.

At communism's elementary stage, in our realistic socialist society, we must tacitly acknowledge that different degrees of work ability are every person's natural privilege, labor is still each laborer's individual means of livelihood, therefore we must practice the principle of to each according to his work. Our party resolutely practices this principle and opposes and criticizes all theories denying this principle. But from the point of view of a communist, our ideology is communism and our aim is not salary nor livelihood; our aim is the realization of the communist ideal. At no time do communists cease to influence and educate the masses with their own actions or to participate in socialist construction with the labor attitude of communism so that their

personal interests are subordinated to the interests of the collective, and present interests are subordinated to long-range interests. If someone joins the revolution for the sake of rewards and haggles with the party and the people, suggesting that he be "paid so much money for so much work," he is not qualified to be a communist. Today, there are within our party some people who forget one's integrity under the temptation of personal gains; but they are, after all, the minority and isolated cases, they are but suds in the sea of our life. The waves that can really pound on people's minds are: Zhao Chun'e [6392 2504 1230] feels distressed because she has spent 900 yuan of public funds while staying in the hospital; she resolved to make greater contributions to the state thereafter in order to "earn back" the money she has spent, even when her life was in danger she continued to go to work regularly. Liu Baoyan [0491 1405 5333], while suffering from cancer, with her weight reduced to merely 70-plus pounds, prompts herself to "make the best use of time to do more work, dedicate the very last moment of her short life [to the state]." Du Yunyun [2629 5366 5366] contributed a great amount of her inheritance to the state. Brother and sister Tao Jinlan [7118 6855 5695] and Tao Enming [7118 1869 6900] submit the silver dollars worth 360,000 yuan which they dug up to the government.... All sincere communists, all those who believe in communism, hardly calculate minute gains and losses for themselves; they are working selflessly for the construction of our socialist modernization.

In our life, in front of us or alongside us, there are more heroes and models, there are those who, for the sake of their communist ideal, exert themselves at the risk of their lives and sacrifice everything, like Zhou Yuncheng [0719 0061 2052], who ignored his own life and concentrated on pursuing what he valued in his life, or Luan Fu [2940 5397], the exemplary intellectual who, for the sake of developing the motherland's science and technology, fought till the very last moment of his life, or Chen Feiyan [7115 7378 3601], though pregnant jumped into the water to rescue someone.... They are not dreamers but communist practitioners with their feet firmly on the ground. It is precisely the practice of these people that is educating and stimulating us and making our faith in communism firmer and firmer. It is also these shining ideas and deeds which are illuminating more and more minds, enabling people to strive forward and advance to communism step by step.

In his article "A Great Creative Act" Lenin praised "Communist Saturday Labor" and proposed we should take good care of the buds of communism. Yes, under the leadership of our party, there are buds everywhere in our life; we should discover them in time and foster them. They have provided us with the substance of our thought, and we must refine them, accumulate them and sum them up. To put it in Lenin's words: "Play fewer politically sharp tunes, pay more attention to ordinary but vivid enterprises of communist construction that originate from life and are tested by life--all of us, our writers, agitators, propagandists, organizers, etc., should tirelessly repeat this slogan" ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 8).

Communism is found in our life; let us treasure the present, and then we shall also gain the future. "When we traverse the windy, events-ridden road, let us not ask how far the fairy island is; we are bound to arrive there, as there are countless Foolish Old Men among us."

[11 Sep 82 p 4]

[Essay by Min Shuhai [7036 2885 3189]: "Let Lofty Ideals Shine Over Man's Life"]

[Text] Reading a good book is an enjoyment, indeed. Whether it stimulates one's thinking or prompts one to strive forward, it always inspires us in certain areas. On the happy occasion of the opening of the party's 12th congress, I happened to finish reading a touching work the "Autobiography of Peng Dehuai." As I close the book, my mind hardly stays calm. The image of a proletarian revolutionary who fought as a soldier and courageously dedicated himself to the communist cause lingers in front of me.

Lenin once said: "History has long proved, great revolutionary struggles create great personalities, and make full use of undeveloped talent." Commander-in-chief Peng, the son of a poor family, became a general of New China with shining fighting merits, this fact demonstrates the great vitality of the communist movement.

After reflection and exploration, once commander-in-chief Peng established his goal in life, he unswervingly struggled for it. During his life he experienced hardships and obstacles, but he never wavered and simply forged ahead. Such a spirit of surging forward was nurtured under the shining, lofty ideal of communism.

An ideal often determines a man's course of life. A man can have all kinds of ideals in his life, but no ideal can make one feel as broadminded and farsighted as the realization of the lofty goal of communism, and no struggle gives one such courage and such determination as the struggle for the realization of communism. Harboring the great goal of communism, commander-in-chief Peng risked his life during the war years; during the period of our economic construction, he also dared to dedicate himself to the defense of truth. From him, we really see the noble quality that a thorough materialist is dauntless.

A man must always pursue something in his life. With respect to an ideal, its selection differs with an individual's view of life. Some people believe that a goal an individual struggles for and achieves "practical benefits" can be called an "ideal"; and if after hard work one fails to gain more benefits, then however good that goal may be, it can never be held as one's ideal and pursue it. The ideal of these people is but the myopic ambition of a sparrow; it falls far short of the communist ideal indeed! But commander-in-chief Peng's spirit of unswerving struggle for the communist cause serves precisely as our shining example. It tells us that so long as we entertain lofty communist goals, we are able to make beneficial contributions to the people's cause.

Under the stimulation of the spirit of the 21th party congress, let us firmly establish our lofty communist goals, resist and overcome rotten bourgeois ideals and remnant feudal ideas, and charge forward on our march toward the construction of the four modernizations in the interest of the people's cause like commander-in-chief Peng did in his own days!

9255

CSO: 4005/57

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL BUILDING SAID IMPORTANT TO SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Why Is It Said That the Nature of Socialist Spiritual Civilization Is Decided by Ideological Building?]

[Text]. The most important contents in building ideology, generally speaking, are revolutionary ideals, revolutionary morality, and revolutionary discipline. In concrete terms, they can also be divided into these several aspects: 1) the working class's and Marxist world outlook and scientific theory; 2) the communist ideology, beliefs, and morality; 3) the ideology of being masters of their house, which is suited to socialist public ownership, and the concept of collectivism; 4) the concept of rights and obligations and the concept of organization and discipline, which are suited to the socialist political system; 5) the spirit of devoting oneself to serving the people and the communist attitude towards labor; 6) socialist patriotism and internationalism, etc. The thread that runs through these is communist ideology and spirit. Historically our party has highly valued the revolutionary ranks, in particular the building of ideology among the party ranks. Early in the democratic revolutionary period, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly pointed out that we must firmly and unremittingly apply the system of communist ideology to educate the vast numbers of party members and the masses and to guide all our actions. After the founding of our country, with the party's proposals and exhortations, the hundreds of millions of people consciously studied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and developed the practice of communist morality and labor attitude. Even in the 10 years of internal unrest, the majority of people were not shaken in their faith in socialism and communism. To strengthen the building of ideology is a basic guarantee that will enable our party and revolutionary ranks to be strong and filled with fighting spirit.

In the two areas of building culture and building ideology in spiritual civilization, the latter plays the leading role; it determines the socialist nature of spiritual civilization. This is because, on the one hand, certain kinds of culture, education, art, and other activities are always pursued under the guidance of a certain ideology. Whether or not their content and form are in accord with social needs is decided by whether or not they embody an advanced spirit of the age. As social ideology, literature, education, art, etc. cannot but reflect the interests and demands of a certain class, cannot but express the ideological tendencies and ideals and beliefs which govern their class.

The basic distinction between socialist culture and capitalist culture lies in the fact that the former takes the communist ideological system as its guide, while the latter takes bourgeois ideology as its home. This is to say that the socialist nature in building culture is determined by our building communist ideology. On the other hand, looking at the entire scope of spiritual civilization, taken as the advanced state of human wisdom and morality, it always takes a certain ideological system as its core and symbol. The spiritual civilization of capitalist society is soaked through and through with the naked mentality of private ownership, extreme egotism, and other decadent ideology of the exploiting classes. In building socialist spiritual civilization, we must thoroughly discard this decadent ideology and substitute for it the communist ideological system which is the most advanced in the history of mankind. In our country, since our party started and directed the Chinese revolution, we have used communist ideology as a compass for our own actions. Today, through building ideology, we need all the more to widely disseminate, and to help the people to establish, the communist world outlook. Without this ideological building, we will have no means by which to resist the encroachment of the decadent ideology of capitalism, nor to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Consequently, we must strive to conscientiously be responsible for this important link of building ideology.

6722

CSO: 4005/37

PARTY AND STATE

EFFORTS TO OVERCOME NEGLECT OF CULTURE URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Why Is It Necessary To Energetically Eliminate the Erroneous Concept of Neglecting Culture?"]

[Text] Building culture is an important part of building spiritual civilization; it principally encompasses three aspects: the first is the development of education, science, literature and art, news publication, radio and television, health and physical culture, libraries, museums, and every sort of cultural enterprise; the second is raising the level of mass knowledge; and there is also the healthy, joyful, lively, rich and varied mass dance and music activities. The development of socialist culture is an important condition in raising the ideological consciousness and level of morality of the masses; it is also for the purpose of enabling the people, during periods of rest after intensive labor, to enjoy themselves spiritually with lofty interests. Consequently, the building of culture must be guided by communist ideology; every cultural enterprise must strive, through communist ideals, beliefs, and morality, to educate and to raise the spiritual boundaries of the masses. Whether or not culture can be highly developed, whether or not the masses' level of knowledge will be raised by a certain degree are crucial questions concerning whether or not the building of socialism will be successful. Lenin said long ago that there is no way to build socialism in a country full of illiteracy.

However, owing to past "left" deviationist thought and the strictures of the concept of small-scale production, there existed rather generally and for a relatively long time within our party the erroneous concept of neglecting the teaching of science and culture and the undervaluing of intellectuals. Some comrades one-sidedly emphasized the importance of practical experience and neglected, or even discarded, the study of science, culture, and theoretical knowledge, or were satisfied with understanding of a temporary nature for a single situation; they did not think of, nor were they willing to, on the basis of raising the cultural level, proceed from the whole and within an even broader scope master the objective laws for building socialism. As for the intellectuals, they regarded them as a kind of dissident force, a kind of negative factor; they did not respect the position and function of intellectuals in building socialism. Under the influence of this erroneous concept, developments in cultural building suffered serious setbacks. During the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" all the more exerted themselves in

touting the nonsense that "the more intellectuals there are the more reaction" and that intellectuals are "stinking old dissidents," etc. They severely damaged our country's cultural enterprise. This not only enlarged the condition of ignorance and backwardness but also extremely damaged the building of socialist material civilization. If we do not completely eliminate this erroneous concept of neglecting cultural knowledge and discriminating against intellectuals, our socialist enterprise will not be able to develop smoothly.

Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has done much work in this area. First of all, it has striven to put into effect the party's policy on intellectuals and clearly proclaimed that intellectuals are a part of the working class, that they are, just the same as the workers and peasants, a reliable force in building socialism. Moreover, it progressively adopted measures to improve the working and living conditions of the intellectuals, enabling them to contribute their strength for the people happily and enthusiastically. Then, it placed universal education and raising the cultural level of the people in an extremely important position, determining policies and methods for basically making primary education universal, as well as developing every type and level of school, before 1990. Apart from this, a considerable amount of energy was devoted to the promotion of literature and art, physical culture, health, and other enterprises. All this played an enormous role in eliminating the erroneous concept of neglecting culture, in strengthening the building of socialism, in changing step by step the conditions which are not suited for the development of culture and the economy.

6722

CSO: 4005/37

PARTY AND STATE

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY 'VIGOROUSLY' PROMOTED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Why Is It Necessary To Vigorously Promote the Ideology of Communism at the Present Stage?]

[Text] The core of socialist spiritual civilization is just as Comrade Hu Yaobang explicitly pointed out in the 12th Party Congress report: it is communist ideology.

At present, our country is in the socialist stage; is it, by taking communist ideology as the core of socialist spiritual civilization, leaping over a stage? Of course not. The communist movement, which "wiped out existing conditions," arose in the world something over a century ago; it was only by taking communist ideology created by Marx as its glorious banner that the communist movement was able to continually achieve victories. The new democratic revolution led by our party is also a movement under the guidance of communist ideology. As early as 40-odd years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "At the present time, we must, without any doubt whatsoever, expand publicity on communist ideology and intensify the study of Marxism-Leninism. Without this kind of publicity and study, we not only will not be able to guide the Chinese revolution to the future socialist stage, but will also not be able to guide the present democratic revolution to victory." It can be seen that communist ideology and communist practice have existed for a long time in our actual lives. Now, we have entered the socialist society; everyone knows that a socialist society is a rudimentary stage of communism. Of course we should even more vigorously advocate communist ideology and regard it as the core for building socialist spiritual civilization. That viewpoint which holds that vigorously advocating communist ideology is to "leap over stages" is manifestly incorrect.

To build socialism, we must not only have a high degree of material civilization but also a high degree of spiritual civilization. Just as a bird must have two wings before it can fly, so must we manage well both civilizations in order to enable our country to maintain the proper direction in socialism and to progress firmly and unwaveringly towards the goals of communism. In exposing the corrupt practices of capitalist society, Marx pointed out: "The victory of technology seems to have been purchased at the cost of the defeat of morality. As mankind came increasingly to control nature, the individual became increasingly the slave of others or the slave of his own mean behavior."

("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 2, page 79.) In today's world, although a number of capitalist countries have attained a relatively high material civilization, nevertheless, owing to what is determined by their systems, they are in serious decline in certain important aspects of their spiritual civilization: for example, the unchecked spreading of the concept of doing nothing but for profit and of harming others to benefit oneself, the poverty and emptiness of people's spiritual lives, the severe degeneration of social practices, the increasing violence of the phenomenon of crime, etc. In our modernization efforts we absolutely cannot, of course, follow their path. Communist ideology is the powerful ideological weapon by which we resist and conquer the decadent ideology of the exploiting class and the ideology of the urban petty bourgeoisie. If we were to neglect the building of socialist spiritual civilization which takes communist ideology as its core, things would turn out as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: people would sink into one-sidedness and their powers of concentration would be limited to only building material civilization, limited even to the pursuit of their own material interests. Our society might fall into an abnormal development and into deterioration. Consequently, we must fully recognize the extremely important nature of building socialist spiritual civilization by taking communist ideology as its core.

To vigorously promote communist ideology definitely does not imply that we should institute policies of an advanced communist stage. We cannot repeat that "leftist" type of error of "communal practices." Nonetheless, in executing present policies and in engaging in every sort of work, we must not lack the guidance of communist ideology. Carrying forward communist ideology and universally raising the people's consciousness will be all the more beneficial to executing the various policies of the present stage. And the progress of the modernized building of socialism will necessarily be greatly accelerated.

6722

CSO: 4005/37

PARTY AND STATE

SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION CALLED IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTIC OF SOCIALISM

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Why Is the Socialist Spiritual Civilization an Important Characteristic of Socialism?]

[Text] For a period of time now the people's understanding of the characteristics of socialism has been deepening. To regard socialist spiritual civilization as an important characteristic of socialism is, first of all, one of the important achievements which we have made in the effort to bring order out of chaos in ideological theory since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. Looking back on this process, the sequence of ideas is very clear: to start with, particularly after criticizing the counter-revolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing for touting phoney communism, when we came to discuss the characteristics of socialism, we paid rather more attention to its economic aspects, such as the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production and the elimination of the system of exploitation. On the foundation of the public ownership of the means of production, the economy developed in a planned, proportionate way; in the distribution of individual consumer goods, we instituted distribution according to labor. Afterwards, following the intensifying of the effort to bring order out of chaos, our understanding also deepened, and we came to understand that socialist characteristics should also be manifested in politics, such as establishing the political power of the working class and the working people, and in instituting a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy in which the people are the masters of their own affairs. At this time, the people also emphasized that another of its characteristics is that the highly developed productive forces and labor productivity, which is even higher than in capitalism, are the necessary requirement and ultimate outcome of the development of socialism. However, can we say that to understand socialist characteristics in this way is complete? From experience, people repeatedly considered this question. In applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to sum up historical experience and to analyze the circumstances of the present time, our understanding deepened, and we further came to understand that the above described views are without doubt correct but not complete. Socialism, apart from its characteristics in economics and politics, must still possess another characteristic, and that is that socialist spiritual civilization has communist ideology as its core. Without this spiritual civilization, socialism cannot be built. The 12th Party Congress report summed up the entire party's understanding of socialist characteristics,

pointing out that only discussing economic and political characteristics, and not considering socialist spiritual civilization, "is not sufficient to completely encompass socialist characteristics." This is a great advance in our understanding, and we must thoroughly understand this point.

Next, from the point of view of the theory of scientific socialism, the relations of production, in particular the ownership of the means of production, is of course the basic characteristic which distinguishes different forms of society; but it is not the only characteristic. This is because certain forms of society not only have certain "relations of production which, as a whole, make up the economic structure of society," but in addition have a "superstructure of law and politics erected over them and a certain social ideology suited to them." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol. 2, page 82.) The superstructure and differences in the area of social ideology similarly are characteristics which distinguish different forms of society. As regards an understanding of the characteristics of socialist society, we must of course look at the public ownership of the means of production and distribution according to labor, which are the basic aspects of these relations of production; but we cannot because of this neglect its characteristics in the superstructure and social ideology. If we were only to regard the economic and political characteristics of socialism, and not consider that there is also this important characteristic of socialist spiritual civilization, then our understanding of socialism would sink into one-sidedness, and the socialist enterprise would be endangered.

In reality, economic, political, ideological, cultural and other characteristics of socialism do not exist independently in the real life of a socialist society but rather mutually influence each other. As stated earlier, the characteristics of the socialist economy are most basic and, speaking fundamentally, play a decisive role. The political, ideological, cultural, and other characteristics are prerequisites to serve to spur on and guarantee the perfection and development of the characteristics of the economic area. It should be said that the influence of this important characteristic of socialist spiritual civilization on economic and political characteristics can be felt in our actual lives. Are not the establishment of the public ownership of the means of production and the elimination of the system of exploitation in our country the product of the communist movement under the direction of communist ideology? Can the perfecting and making concrete of the public ownership of the means of production and the establishing and perfecting of new-style mutual relations among people under socialism depart from the guidance of Marxism and the influence of communist ideology and morality? The instituting of "distribution according to labor" also cannot be separated from the propagation of and education in the communist labor attitude and communist spirit. To perfect and develop characteristics in the political field, we must all the more strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

In sum, socialist spiritual civilization which takes communist ideology as its core is an indispensable condition for fortifying and developing socialist society; it is an important characteristic which influences many areas and aspects of a socialist society. We absolutely must not disregard this important characteristic.

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING PARTY MEMBERS LEARN TO PROPAGATE THE TWELVE DOCUMENTS

Leading Cadres To Be Trained

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 pp 2-4

[Article: "Take Practical Steps, Ensure the Proper Studying of the Documents, Studying by Dalian Party Organizations at All Levels Develops Firmly"]

[Text] On 17 July the Dalian municipal CPC committee held a meeting of leading cadres of units above the county level at which Cui Ronghan [1508 4896 3352], representative of the 12th Party congress and municipal CPC secretary, communicated the spirit of the 12 great documents and briefed the general membership on the grand occasion of the party congress. Hu Yimin [5170 0076 3046], first secretary of the municipal CPC committee, required of each front, each system, and each unit that in the course of studying and discussing the 12 great documents, they must pay attention to integrating work with reality and must study how they can inspire enthusiasm, make breakthroughs, be firm and indomitable, and struggle unceasingly in contributing their efforts to beginning a new phase of the socialist modernization construction.

Beginning on 20 July, standing committee members of the municipal CPC committee spent half of each day studying and discussing each sentence and paragraph of the 12 great documents. Beginning today, the municipal party school and cadre school will separately conduct a ten day training class for cadres above the county level at which they will concentrate their time and energy on studying well the 12 great documents. Before the end of the year, over 4,000 leading cadres will be trained in eight stages. A series of guidance lectures on studying six special topics in the 12 great documents will be offered by the municipal CPC committee's propaganda department for units above the commune level, and the department will train over 1,800 lecturers and propagandists. Liang Dexin [2733 1795 2458], Changhai County CPC committee secretary, personally led a propaganda team to each fishing district to explain to fishermen of on-sea operations the 12 great documents.

Good Study Habits Urged

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 pp 2-4

[Article: "Jinzhou Municipal CPC Committee Stresses Study of Twelve Documents by Major Leading Cadres, Emphasis on Developing Good Study Practices to Correct Mistake of Superficial Learning"]

[Text] The Jinzhou municipal CPC committee regards the emphasis on studying of the 12 documents by major leading cadres at all levels as the key for propagating the documents throughout the city. By conducting every kind of study class and by adopting other methods, it has given impetus to the studying done by party members and cadres in rural and urban areas throughout the city.

The Jinzhou municipal CPC committee has underlined its proposal that good studying habits must be developed in order to correct the mistake of superficial learning, and it has put forth specific requirements for leading cadres at all levels who will take the lead in studying the documents. The municipal CPC committee's propaganda department has promptly organized a document study and research class of 30 people from each Marxist-Leninist teaching and research office of each institution of higher learning, municipal and county party school directors and instructors, propaganda department heads from the majority of enterprises, etc, to train theoretical instructors for the leading cadres' studying of the 12 documents. The municipal CPC committee also conducted a key study class of over 720 deputy secretaries of party committees, propaganda department heads, and theoretical cadres of units above the county level in which each sentence and paragraph of the documents was studied for comprehension. Thorough discussions were held on special topics so as to grasp the essence of the documents.

In order to concentrate on the studying of the documents by major leading cadres of each unit, the Jinzhou municipal CPC committee, beginning on 20 July, conducted a one week, document study class for party committee secretaries of units above the county level. This class assisted them to above all study well so they could become leading figures in the studying of the documents. Municipal CPC committee standing committee members also separately took part in discussions and personally gave explanations and answered questions.

Dandong Party Members Study

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 pp 2-4

[Text] Dandong party organizations and unit offices at all levels have adopted various forms in organizing cadres and the masses to study and discuss earnestly the 12 great documents in order to get a deeper understanding of the 12 great spirits.

After the standing committee members concentrated on studying, the Dandong CPC committee organized brief, intense study for over 500 party members and

leading cadres above the county level throughout the city. Li Shishan [2621 0013 0810], representative of the 12th party congress and municipal CPC committee secretary, explained the grand occasion of the 12th great convocation and the spirit of the documents. Comrades who took part spent the whole day concentrating on studying and in the evening returned to their units to give guidance in uniting upper and lower levels. In order to conduct extensive propaganda aimed at the masses in urban and rural areas, the 180 propaganda and theoretical mainstays who were trained by the municipal CPC committee's propaganda department and party school have already left for each grass roots unit. The municipal committee of the CYL, the Women's Federation, and the trade unions have separately trained close to 100 propagandists and lecturers who will conduct propaganda among youths and neighborhood residents. The Xiuyan County committee has sent a group of key party members to bring the spirit of the 12 great documents to each and every household.

While studying and conducting propaganda, each unit must pay attention to integrating work, production, and ideological practice, and each must implement while learning. The municipal economics committee, planning committee, and industry and communications department have considered measures for developing further the light, textile, and electronics industries so they can strive for new growth in output value and profits by the end of this year. In accordance with the 12 great documents, the Fengcheng Coal Mine has issued requirements for developing resources, has reformulated plans for increasing production, and is determined not to dispose of resources while conducting precision mining. The Dandong Chemical Plant, renowned throughout the country for producing high quality toothpaste, has resolved to double its production by 1985 in accordance with the 12 great documents. At present, the entire plant's workers arrive early and leave late, each day exceeding production quotas for toothpaste by 20,000 tubes.

Benxi Propaganda System Under Way

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 pp 2-4

[Article by Guo Yuanfu [6753 0955 4395] and Si Xiangchun [0674 4382 2504]: "Rapidly Spread the Spirit of the Twelve Documents Among Party Members and the Masses. Benxi Municipality Fully Plays Roles of Lecturer and Propagandist"]

[Text] The Benxi Municipality fully plays the roles of lecturer, propagandist, and political theory instructor, having explained and publicized the 12 great documents to the vast party members, cadres, workers, and masses.

The lecturer and propagandist system set up by the Benxi Municipality already has three years of experience. Its ranks are in good order, it is strong, and it is a vital force in the party's propaganda work. Since the 12th great convocation of 1 July, the entire city has organized over 3,460 lecturers, over 17,700 propagandists, and over 300 political theory instructors. They have separately explained the 12 great documents to the vast party members, cadres, workers, and masses at over 13,070 urban and rural areas, and of

the more than 1,300,000 people throughout the city who have heard these lectures, over 96 percent of them have been educated. The major leading comrades of the municipal CPC committee have separately gone to the industry and communications, finance and trade, culture and education, and capital construction fronts to conduct face to face explanations.

9926

CSO: 4005/56

PARTY AND STATE

FOLLOWERS OF JIANG QING IN SHANGHAI TRIED, SENTENCED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by WEN HUI BAO commentator: "Just Verdict, History's Victory"]

[Text] Xu Jingxian [1776 2529 6343], Wang Xiuzhen [3769 4423 3791], Chen Ada [7115 7093 1129], Ye Changming [5509 2490 2494], Huang Jinhai [7806 6855 3189], Dai Liqing [2071 4539 3237], Ma Zhenlong [7456 2182 7893], and Zhu Yongjia [2612 3057 0857] were major accomplices of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in Shanghai. Following a public trial, the Shanghai municipal high and middle level people's courts have sentenced them to prison terms varying from 14 to 18 years. The masses have greeted this news with great joy and have expressed resolute support for this just verdict handed down by the court.

This public trial of the eight major accomplices of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in Shanghai was a followup to the public trial of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques by a special tribunal organized by the Supreme People's Court, it is the continuation of our struggle against the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, and an important part of our effort to settle accounts with its entire criminal activity. Many facts have proven they were key members recruited and raised by the Lin Biao and Jiang counterrevolutionary cliques in Shanghai for the purpose of usurping the party and state power. They worked in collusion, each using the other for his own ends. Under the direct command and control of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Wang Hongwen, they adopted open and clandestine, refined and brutal means to carry out a series of counterrevolutionary conspirational activities aimed at usurping the party and state power in Shanghai, and attempted to overthrow the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship to realize their counterrevolutionary dream of "changing the dynasty." Today, the people have detained these counterrevolutionary criminals by a tribunal of historical significance, and have thoroughly settled accounts with their counterrevolutionary crime. This is an important achievement of the implementation of the party's line and principles adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee and is a major victory for the 10 million people in Shanghai who struggled against the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique.

To the broad masses of people, this trial means a profound education in the real form of class struggle. From the amount of criminal evidence presented by the court, the people could clearly identify Xu Jingxian, Wang Xiuzhen and company as counterrevolutionary conspirators, diabolitical and cunning careerists. In 10 years of civil strife, they did many evil things, committed countless crimes and brought untold sufferings to the broad masses of people in Shanghai. Their 10-year long counterrevolutionary activity in Shanghai has resulted in serious damage to various socialist undertakings on all fronts. The serious consequence created by their criminal activity has also made its influence felt in other parts of the country, and has brought untold sufferings to the people in Shanghai. History of this kind should not be allowed to repeat itself. Today, these common enemies of the people will go down in history as a symbol of everlasting shame and will be cursed by people for generations to come. The public trial of these counterrevolutionary criminals means a complete settlement of accounts with their crime, legally upholds justice for all cadres and people who were victims of their persecution, and set the record of history straight. As a result of this trial, the dignity of law has been preserved, the enemies have been exposed and dealt blows, the masses have been given an education, the socialist legal system has been strengthened and social stability has been enhanced.

From beginning to end, the eight criminals including Xu Jingxian and Wang Xiuzhen were publicly tried in accordance with the due process of law. Through the process of litigation and trial, the principles of taking facts as the basis and the law as the criterion were strictly observed, evidence was stressed, and confessions were not readily believed. Different sentences were handed down by the court on the basis of the severity of their crimes and their attitude of atonement. This constitutes a striking contrast to the brutal fascist practice of the "gang of four" who willfully destroyed and trampled under foot the socialist legal system, obtained confessions by compulsion and gave them credence, and acted with utter disregard for human life, during the 10 years of turmoil. This historical experience we have gained through our serious struggle against the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique reminds us of the need to do everything possible to strengthen the building of a socialist legal system with the aim of preventing the repeat of the history of the 10-year turmoil. Lenin once said: "Law reflects the will of the class which has won the battle for control of the state power." Acting according to the law means acting according to the will of the people throughout the country. The socialist laws reflect the will and interests of the people, and are therefore inviolable. In our socialist country, anyone who defies the law, breaks the law, or commits a crime will be punished according to the law.

Although the trial of the eight major accomplices of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique has come to an end, our struggle against its remnants will continue. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," we have started a sweeping exposure, criticism and investigation campaign to destroy its factional system in Shanghai. Under this campaign, a large number of people who were once falsely and wrongly charged and unjustly sentenced have

been rehabilitated, the party's policies have been gradually put into effect, leading bodies at all levels have been consolidated, the situation in Shanghai has been stabilized, the economy has been restored and developed, and tremendous successes have been scored in all fields of work. But, we must also clearly understand that Shanghai was a bastion of the "gang of four" and their remnants are still hiding and waiting for opportunities to stir up trouble again. We must also clearly and deeply understand the protracted and complicated nature of this struggle as well as the fact that the close of the trial of the eight major criminals does not mean the beginning of a world forever dominated by peace and tranquility. Under no circumstances should we lower our guard and allow ourselves to be carried away by the false sense of security.

Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, we must adhere to the line, principles and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party Central Committee, strengthen the building of the material civilization and the socialist spiritual civilization, consolidate and develop political stability and unity so that Shanghai can play a greater role in the modernization of our socialist motherland.

9574

CSO: 4005/83

PARTY AND STATE

NEW CPC CONSTITUTION ON ROLE OF PARTY MEMBERS DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Gao Zhu [7559 2691]: "Communist Party Members Must Act as Models"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The ideological building of the party is the key to the building of the spiritual civilization in our society, communist party members above all must act as models, ideologically and morally."

The exemplary conduct of communist party members is an example for the masses, an example which carries a tremendous power second to none in the world. In the difficult years of the revolutionary war, heroic communist party members could always be counted on to take a bold step to boost the morale of the war-weary troops at any moment that was crucial to victory, and to unite them as one to face sacrifices without fear. In this way, our troops conquered the enemy fortresses, wiped out the recalcitrant enemies, and hoisted our triumphant flag over the enemy camp.

They have displayed the same spirit during the period of our socialist construction. We will never forget the difficult period between 1959 and 1961, a period in which many people suffered from swollen faces caused by starvation. However, at that time, our party had an excellent work style, its members "put the concerns of the nation before their personal concerns," rejected special privileges, and shared weal and woe with the masses. The result was a miracle rarely seen in the world. During the most arduous days, they maintained the best social customs, mutual aid and accommodation, high moral standards were the order of the day. To youths in their thirties today, this childhood experience remains nostalgic. They still yearn for the cordial human relationship of those old days.

But this human relationship between right and wrong, between good and bad and between the beautiful and the ugly was turned upside down during the 10 years of civil strife, an influence which cannot be easily eliminated, and for many other reasons, a fundamental improvement in our social climate remains nowhere in sight today. Is that "a hopeless malady"? No. As long as party members act as models, an improvement in the social climate can be

expected. Zhao Chune was a worker hired by the Laoji coal mine under the jurisdiction of Luoyang Municipality, Henan Province. Although she did nothing spectacular, she is remembered as an ordinary but dedicated female worker who often willingly pitched in to do dirty work in defiance of fatigue; a worker who was willing to assume responsibility that was usually borne by two or three persons. Wherever she went, she loved to help others do a good job. Up to the last 5 days of her life, she continued to work hard and help others even though she was seriously ill. Her death came so suddenly that she was even unable to turn over the key to the coal mine to another worker. She really deserves to be called a noble minded, pure and moral person. When her touching story spread, workers, residents, primary and secondary school students in Luoyang Municipality responded by learning from her, one after the other they walked the streets and visited families so that they could help others. The party's work style is a harbinger of, and can always exercise influence, on the civilian life style. An improvement in the civilian life style can be made possible only by an improvement in the work style of the party. But the party's work style is not abstract nor inexplicable. An excellent party work style is reflected in the exemplary conduct of party members, and in their behavior that is worthy of emulation by the masses.

Although our party's work style and civilian life style are improving with each passing day, we must be aware that some individual communist party members still cannot match their words with their deeds despite their promise to "serve the people and socialism." Instead of serving the people's interests and making contributions to socialism, they have infringed upon the public interest and socialism. Although they call themselves Communist Party members, they are actually fakes because they stripped themselves of genuine communist moral quality long ago. Although they are a minority, they have incurred the wrath of the masses: A report says: when "the party's unhealthy work style" was being discussed by the masses, a heated and vitriolic debate ensued, sending a warning to some organizations of the party and its members against their rotten style of work which has reached such alarming proportions that they could no longer tolerate it. In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang made public a decision by the party Central Committee to rectify the party during the second half of 1983. Upon hearing this news, both party members and people have expressed warm support for this decision. As soon as this announcement was made, the new constitution of the party was proclaimed. In order to meet the special challenges and needs of this new historical period, the new constitution of the party imposes stricter demands on its members. In addition to playing an exemplary role in fulfilling the eight duties required of party members, leading cadres of the party at all levels must meet six specific requirements for leadership. At this time, every politically conscious party member must make conscientious efforts to make himself a qualified party member, consciously observe the regulations of the party and find better ways of acting as models among the masses. Those party members now pursuing an unhealthy ideological style must become aware and thoroughly rectify their errors.

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON ZUO ZONGTANG'S HISTORICAL ROLE

HK210330 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Shen Chuanjing [3088 0278 4842]: "Zuo Zongtang Was the Successor to Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] When Britain launched the aggressive opium war to force open the door of feudal China with military force, Lin Zexu asserted in his proposal that "by fabricating cannons and building ships we would be able to defeat the barbarians." ("Chou Ban Yiwu Shimo," the reign of Daoguang Emperor, Zhonghua Press, p 531) based on this assertion, Wei Yuan put forth the idea of "learning the superior technology of the barbarians in order to control them," ("Haiguo Tuzhi," "Chou Hai Pian," part 3) such a patriotic idea, which advocated learning the foreign technologies of ship-building and cannon-making to fight the Western aggressors, was a correct summation and great development of the anti-aggressive and patriotic thinking of Lin Zexu and others, as well as an important ideological weapon to spur and guide their successors.

In discussions on the personages of the Westernization movement, some people, while negating the role of the Westernization faction as successors to the thought of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, asserted that Zuo Zongtang was not a successor to the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan but rather their betrayer. I think that such an appraisal is inconsistent with historical facts. After all, there were differences between Zuo Zongtang and other members of the Westernization faction, including Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang and so on.

/1. Zuo Zongtang, as well as Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, belonged to the School of Contemporary Literature/

Zuo Zongtang was of a younger generation in the same period as that of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. He agreed with Lin and Wei on the understanding of and attitude toward the critical situation of the times. When Lin Zexu was engaged in Guangzhou in the resistance against the aggressors during the opium war, Zuo Zongtang was studying the historical record of national coast defense in the countryside of Hunan Province. In correspondence with He Xiling, he "discussed again and again and worked out the defense strategy." ("Collected Works of Sir Zuo Wenxiang," all quotations from the same book will not be notified henceforth.) Condemning Qi Shan of "being wicked and traitorous" and of "bungling national defense," he suggested to declaring his crimes to the whole nation and

beheading him so as to "raise the morale of the three armies and frighten the enemy." This showed that Zuo Zongtang supported Lin Zexu in his patriotic acts to resist aggression. Being clearly aware of the British aggressors' "conspiracy which had been brewed long ago, Zuo Zongtang also pointed out that "the leaders of the Qing government were weak and incompetent, and the officials were not determined to devote themselves to the nation"; and that incapable and corrupt ministers were forming cliques to pursue selfish interests. He held that "nothing in the world is unattainable, no enemy in the world is invincible and, after all, people capable of expelling the enemy were available. However, the crux of the problem was that "we were not sure whether the present policies were good enough to change the life of the country!"

Zuo Zongtang had close relations with Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. They were rather congenial to each other in thoughts and feelings. The patriotic acts and experiences of Lin Zexu in the opium war profoundly impressed Zuo Zongtang, arousing his admiration and his passion to be a follower of Lin. In a letter to a friend, he said: "I always feel like staying near Mr Lin"; "I feel sad when he is sad, I feel indignant when he is indignant, and I feel happy when he is happy"; "I admire him so much that my spirit follows him all the time." When Lin Zexu left Yunnan and Guizhou Provinces and passes by Hunan by boat en route to his hometown, Zuo Zongtang met him on board on the Xiangjiang River. "They had dinner together and talked glowingly all night long." Lin Zexu also "saw eye to eye with Zuo Zongtang and regarded him as an outstanding and talented man." Due to his profound admiration of Li Zexu, Zuo Zongtang was "shocked, in deep sorrow" and "cried his heart out" at the death of Lin Zexu. Sympathizing with Lin Zexu for the unfair treatment he had received, Zuo Zongtang called for an "accurate description of Lin's life" in preparing his biograph so that his patriotic words and acts would be "known to latter generations of our country." Otherwise, he asserted, "We would find no source materials when preparing the history of the times." In his elegiac couplet presented to Lin Zexu, Zuo Zongtang wrote: "Those who agree with you may not necessarily be gentlemen, but those who have discord with you must definitely be mean people"; "the court depends on you for national defense, and the public looks forward to your timely help." As a gentleman who got along well with Lin Zexu, Zuo Zongtang regarded himself as one who needed Lin's timely help. Later, in a couplet dedicated to the memorial hall of Tao Shu and Lin Zexu, Zuo Zongtang wrote: "Thirty years ago we met by chance on board a boat on the Xiangjiang River; and now I come to see you again." Here, he showed his will to follow Lin Zexu all his life.

Similarly, Zuo Zongtang was also influenced by the thought of Wei Yuan. In praising Wei Yuan's book "Sheng Wu Ji," he said, "this book gives a clear and accurate account of the geographical situation and battle arrays. Undoubtedly the author is a master in the field." "Those anecdotes which he narrated in the book are just interesting and absorbing." In his preface to the republication of "Haiguo Tuzhi" ["Illustrated Geography of Oceanic Countries"], he said: When the Westerners were stepping up their aggression against China, Wei Yuan wrote this book based on sailors' talks and Western sources, and "showed his own views by the way"; "this was the fruit of painstaking labor."

Since Zuo Zongtang, as well as Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, belonged to the school of contemporary literature, held the same point of view on the situation of the nation as his two predecessors, and showed respect for them, we can be sure that they were close to each other in their political view and attitude. Therefore, it was possible for Zuo Zongtang to be the successor to the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan.

/2. The Setting Up of the Fuzhou Navy Yard was an Expression of Zuo Zongtang's Patriotic Thought/

Historical facts are the basis to judge right and wrong. Was Zuo Zongtang a successor to the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan? The correct answer to this question can only be obtained from historical facts.

The Fuzhou Navy Yard was one of the most successful modern navy-ship-building enterprises of a relatively large scale founded by the Westernization faction. When the foreign big powers dominated the sea and were speeding up their aggression with their strong ships and powerful cannons, the founding of the Fuzhou Navy Yard was an expression of Zuo Zongtang's determination in resisting aggression and putting forward the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. During the opium war, Zuo Zongtang had already proposed to build ships. However, it was only after the second opium war that his idea of resisting aggression by building ships became more and more clear and more and more concrete. In 1862, Zhu Zongtang pointed out that "building ships by modelling them after foreign designs was, after all, a long-term policy of coastal defense." In 1864, he employed mechanics in Hangzhou to build ships based on foreign models and thus began his initial practice of the idea of strengthening coastal defense by building ships. In 1865, he again clearly pointed out that the purpose of building ships was to "deprive those foreign nations of their military superiority." In 1872, in a more definite and comprehensive manner, he once again explained his reasoning and purpose in founding the Fuzhou Navy Yard. He said: "In fact, we have found no other way to deal with the barbarians than to learn the superior technology of the barbarians, as they are dominating the sea and bullying us with their ships and cannons which we do not have." Apart from the Fuzhou Navy Yard, Zuo Zongtang also set up an arsenal in Xian in 1869 and another in Lanzou in 1872 to produce ammunition. In 1874, Zuo Zongtang said: "We have set up a navy yard in Fuzhou and have employed Chinese mechanics to make arms in Gansu Province." "This is an implementation of the policy of learning the superior technology of the barbarians. Apart from this, Lin and Wei also encouraged developing the mining industry, and urged to "allow the businessmen in coastal areas to build ships by remodelling them on foreign designs for their own use or for sale." ("Haiguo Tuzhi," "Chou Hai Pian," part 3) This was a concept of developing capitalist production for civilian use. The Fuzhou Navy Yard founded by Zhu Zongtang was not only a modern capitalist industrial enterprise but also a base to manufacture other machines and develop other industrial branches. He asserted: "Motors and steel-smelting equipment are derived from the ship-building industry. If we can build ships, this means that we already have a basis for developing other industries." In order to develop the ship-building industry, he proposed to build coal mines and thus directly helped to give birth to the Taiwan Coal Mine which was a capitalist civil mining enterprise at the early stage. Apart from building navy ships, the Fuzhou Navy Yard also built some cargo ships and "let them to businessmen" as an "aid provided to the latter to promote commerce." Zuo Zongtang said that in this sense the role of the Fuzhou Navy Yard was "close to that of the China merchants' steam ship navigation corporation" which was founded later. This was evidence of his concept of developing the capitalist transportation industry. In 1877, Zuo Zongtang bought well-drilling and canal-cutting equipment and woolen looms, and established the Lanzhou Wollen Mill.

Thus "China could produce woolen fabric with locally produced wool and sell the products throughout the country. Now, not only the people of Gansu Province but also the people of other provinces were benefitted. Henceforth, the woolen fabric produced in Gansu, as well as the cotton cloth produced in Shanghai, became well-known to the people throughout China." Although the Lanzhou woolen mill later ended in failure this example is enough to show that Zuo Zongtang also had an eye on the development of such capitalist enterprises as the civil mining, transportation, textile and other industries, while being engaged in developing the modern weapons industry by establishing the Fuzhou Navy Yard.

Moreover, when learning the superior technology of the barbarians, Zuo Zongtang did not just simply model China ships on foreign ships and cannons, but also tried to master the Western technology of ship building, ship operations, cannon making and woolen textiles, the major goal of the Fuzhou Navy Yard was to "learn the machine-building and ship-building techniques from the Western countries and teach these techniques to Chinese students so that the Chinese people could benefit forever." Therefore, besides appointing students to learn ship-building techniques from foreign mechanics, Zuo Zongtang also set up a school, and sent students abroad to learn how to pilot and build ships. In this way, he trained China's first group of professional personnel specialized in ship-building, ship navigation, mining and other fields. This correct and far-sighted view by Zuo Zongtang, which integrated manufacturing with technical training, proved to be more profound than those of his contemporaries.

/3. Zuo Zongtang's Outstanding Contributions in Resistance to Aggression/

It was true that Zuo Zongtang also used the superior technology which he learned from the barbarians to put down the Taiping revolution, the Nian Army and the Hui people's uprising; and it was undeniable that these acts should be regarded as reactionary and guilty. However, this was not a major point in judging whether he was the successor to Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. Our argument is that the landlord class by nature would always suppress the masses. Even Lin and Wei were no exceptions. When criticizing his reactionary crimes, we should not totally negate all aspects of Zuo Zongtang just because he suppressed the masses.

The focus of Zuo Zongtang's attention rested on the northwest. Even before the opium war, he had already mentioned the Xinjiang issue in his poem "Thoughts on Yantai in 1833." After the opium war, as Yakum Beg of Khokand invaded and occupied Kashgaria and other places, and in particular as the Russians occupied Ili, most of the territory of the Xinjiang area was lost, and the northwestern border area of our country was facing an unprecedentedly serious crisis. Without fear of the severe threat of aggression, Zuo Zongtang refuted Li Hongzhang's fallacy of giving up the northwest and courageously undertook the arduous mission of defending Xinjiang. Facing the intervention of Russia and Britain, Zuo Zongtang commended Liu Jintang to lead the army to "mop up the enemy" and "recover our lost territory," he finally regained by military force the whole territorial area of Xinjiang, which had been under Yakub Beg's occupation for 13 years; and won a great victory which had seldom been witnessed in modern Chinese history of anti-aggressive wars, and thus greatly enhanced and glorified the patriotic thought and cause of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. When the Russians

were inducing Chong Hou to sign a peace treaty and conspiring to step up aggression and to launch a new aggressive war, Zuo Zongtang made up his mind to recover Ili and shatter the military attack. While exposing the Russians' aggressive ambition, he proposed operational principles, and organized a defense by disposing troops on three garrison posts. He himself also "moved from Suzhou to the forefront and pledged to fight to the death in resistance to the Russian invaders." (Qin Luncai: "Sir Zuo Wenxiang in the Northwest," p 114) Here again, he showed his patriotic spirit and firm determination in resisting aggression. "It was because the empire was already well prepared to use its military force efficiently" that Zeng Jize managed to minimize losses in the territory and retain more political and economic interests in negotiations with the Russians. (Mashi: "History of the Chinese Empire's Foreign Relations," Part II, p 373) This was also a remarkable achievement of Zuo Zongtang in resistance to aggression. Furthermore, after the recovery of Xinjiang, Zuo Zongtang presented a memorial to the throne to call for the establishment of a provincial government in the area. This was really an essential step for the consolidation, defense and construction of Xinjiang because "the big powers like Russia and Britain would not dare to run wild if we maintained a steadfast border." In short, this measure taken by Zuo Zongtang had a very important bearing on strengthening the defense of the north-western border and even the whole country.

Zuo Zongtang's correct principle was to attach equal importance to coastal defense in the east and to frontier defense in the West. When holding the office of governor to Fujian and Zhejiang, he founded the Navy Yard, planned to go to Taiwan personally and accomplished the important work of strengthening coastal defense. In 1866, Zuo Zongtang was instructed to hold the post of governor of Shaanxi and Gansu. However, he "always showed concern for the coastal defense in the southeast although he was working in the West." In 1870 when the Tianjin religious riot occurred and, in particular, in 1874 when the Japanese invaded Taiwan, Zuo Zongtang insisted on sending more crack troops to counterattack the enemy. In 1881, when holding the post of governor of Liangjiang [the area covering the present-day Jiangsu, Anhui and Jiangxi Provinces] and minister of Nanyang [the Chinese coastal region south of Shanghai], he replenished the fleet with more war ships and thus reinforced the Nanyang Navy. During the Sino-French War, witnessing that "the French were running wild," Zuo Zongtang "pledged to fight to death against the enemy" and asked to go to the battlefield to join the resistance. The situation was extremely urgent after the Chinese fleet's defeat on the Majiang River. "The public was then badly frightened." However, Zuo Zongtang insisted on going to the forefront in Fuzhou to command the Fujian garrison and sending reinforcements to Taiwan despite his old age and bad health. He finally died on the resistance front.

In the resistance to foreign aggression, Zuo Zongtang always adhered to the patriotic stand. At the same time, he paid more attention to strengthening national power, and attached importance to armament and the role of the army in the resistance to aggression. However, he was by no means a foolhardy warrior without political foresight nor a passionate advocate of the theory that weapons decide everything, but a man who trusted and relied on the masses to a certain extent. For example, when Britain launched the opium war, he pro-

posed to organize fishermen into militia, build pillboxes, train regular troops, establish coastal bases, "combine regular troops with militia," "adopt the policy of strengthening the bulwarks and leaving no provisions outside," and thus drive the enemy to destruction" "like a goat falling into a trap or a fish caught in the net." When marching into Xinjiang, Zuo Zongtang adhered to the following guidelines: "In order to crush the Russians' wicked plan, we must first put down the rebellion in the Hui region; in order to recover Ili, we must first capture Urumqi." He laid down a series of principles, such as, dealing with the northern part and then with the southern part; advancing slowly but attacking the enemy abruptly; marching along several routes in a coordinated way; deliberating the strategy first and then carrying it out in battle; and so on, which showed his foresight and sagacity in military, political and foreign affairs. During the Sino-French War, Zuo Zongtang strongly supported the view of providing aid to the black flag army led by Liu Yongfu, who joined the Agrarian uprising in his early years.

There was this comment on Zuo Zongtang's efforts in opposing foreign aggression: "He never wavered before a threat, felt puzzled before the enemy's tricks, destroyed peace talks, or indulged in empty talk. He was neither misled by temporary peace and thus forgot latent crisis, nor solely devoted his attention to latent crises and thus ignored the current important tasks." (China Society of History: "Westernization Movement," Vol 1, p 125) An elegiac couplet dedicated to him on his death read: "Sir Zuo Wenxiang was the only man in history who never placed hope on and engaged in peace talks." (Qin Luncai: "Sir Zuo Wenxiang in the Northwest," p 116) These comments relatively pertinently sum up Zuo Zongtang's character: his outstanding performance, firm stand and resolute attitude in opposing aggression; and his patriotic spirit.

By and large, Lin Zexu was the pioneer in the resistance to foreign aggression who opened a new era in the struggle against foreign aggression by putting forth the anti-aggressive and patriotic concept of learning the superior technology of the barbarians in order to control them, which was of far-reaching significance. Under his historical conditions, Zuo Zongtang made greater contributions than his contemporaries did by following the road opened by Lin Zexu and adhering to the concept of learning the superior technology of the barbarians in order to control them. Although his role cannot be compared to the pioneering roles of Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan, he should be regarded as a successor who carried forward the anti-aggressive and patriotic thought and cause of Lin and Wei.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

XI ZHONGXUN ON DU BINCHENG, YANG MINGXUAN

HK181353 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 82 pp 1, 4

["Speech by Xi Zhongxun at 7 October Meeting commemorating Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan"]

[Text] Comrades,

The China Democratic League is now holding a solemn meeting to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the death of Comrade Du Bincheng and the 15th anniversary of the death of Comrade Yang Mingxuan. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, I extend my highest respects to and cherish sorrowful memories of Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan. Meanwhile, I also extend my sincere regards to their relatives.

As known to all, Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan were great patriots, outstanding educationalists, activists in the democratic movement and faithful communist fighters. They were the most prestigious and influential persons in the educational circle and in patriotic and democratic movement in northwest China. In particular, after the arrival of the CPC Central Committee in northern Shaanxi after the long march, they fought for long years in Xian--the center of the enemies hostile to the communists and the people. They rendered outstanding contributions in safeguarding the national united front against Japanese aggression led by the CPC, in opposing the reactionary rule of the KMT and in defending the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border areas. Their lofty morality and their upright and righteous characters distinguished them as paragons of virtue and learning.

Proceeding from the spirit of constantly pursuing knowledge and truth, Comrade Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan progressed from being vehement patriots and devoted democrats to ones who sacrificed their lives for the lofty ideal of communism.

While teaching at universities in Shanghai in 1923, Comrade Yang Mingxuan was inspired by Comrades Qu Quibai, Deng Zhongxia and Yun Daiying to study Marxist theories. With the help of the communists Wei Yechou and Li Zizhou, he took part in the battles of the first revolutionary civil war, thus realizing that the way of "saving the country by education" was not accessible unless the Proletariat and the masses of people seized political power. In 1926 he joined

the CPC and, thereafter, he faithfully and conscientiously devoted himself to the liberation of China and the Chinese people and to the communist cause.

Although Comrade Du Bincheng was not a Communist Party member, he also progressed from being a revolutionary democrat to being a faithful communist fighter. In February 1927, he went to Xian, Wuhan, Nanjing, Shanghai and Beijing to make an on-the-spot investigation of the political situation. By seeing the correct policies and revolutionary actions of the communists, the gigantic power of the workers' and peasants' movement and the bloody white terror after Chiang Kai-shek's treachery to the revolution, his mind changed greatly. He drew a conclusion saying: "The future of the Chinese revolution relies on the rise of the masses of the people and their rise depends wholly on the CPC organization and leadership." In 1933, as one of [the] policymakers of General Yang Hucheng he proposed to the general to "cooperate with the communists in fighting Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese aggressors." When the "Xian incident" broke out in 1936, he shouted the slogan of "following the communists." In 1940 the book "On New Democracy" convinced him: "From now on the Chinese Revolution has definite direction and policy, that is the new democracy pointed out by Mr Mao Zedong. This is the only wayout." Not only did he propagate this viewpoint wherever he was, but he also pointed out: "Our country will inevitably step on the road to socialism and communism. This is indubitable." When Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan jointly founded the northwest general branch of the China Democratic League, they drew up the political program of "fraternizing with the Soviet Union, befriending the Chinese communists and striving for the realization of new democracy." At that time when some people warned him: "Yang Mingxuan is a Communist Party member," he immediately responded: "It is my intention to get a Communist Party member to lead the work of the league." For this reason, in 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong praised Comrade Du Bincheng as the "faithful friend of the CPC." In December 1948, Comrade Zhou Enlai praised him as a "Lu Xun-style communist."

Comrade Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan were noted personages of society. They were not corrupted by wealth nor subdued by force, but wholeheartedly served the motherland and the people. Their courage in waging unremitting struggling for the communist ideal was particularly moving. In the "4th May Movement of 1919," although Comrade Mingxuan was twice arrested, he persisted in the struggle till final victory. After Chiang Kai-shek turned traitor to the revolution in April 1927, Yang Mingxuan and Liu Hanchu, who were Communist Party members but worked within the KMT, published an open telegram of denunciation under the name of the executive committee of the KMT in Shaanxi Province. Being shamed into anger, in May Chiang Kai-shek dismissed Comrade Yang Mingxuan from membership of the KMT political branch committee in northwest China, from his post on the executive of the KMT Provincial Committee and from his post as head of the Board of Provincial Education in Shaanxi, and also expelled him from the KMT. In June, the nationalist government controlled by Wang Jingwei in Wuhan appointed him a new member of the provincial government and the head of board of provincial education in Shaanxi, but he refused to accept. Early in 1928, he was arrested by the KMT Government, but he remained faithful and unyielding in jail, thus maintaining the noble character of a Communist Party member. In 1930, the KMT Government invited him to take the post of dean of studies at Anhui University with the prerequisite of him rejoining the KMT,

but he made a stern refusal. In the later stage of the war of resistance against Japan, acting on the orders of Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Zongnan time and again offered him official posts and promised special favors, but time and again he sternly refused.

Comrade Du Bincheng was also a man of awe-inspiring righteousness in his political integrity. In 1938, Chiang Kai-shek dispatched Hu Zongnan to call on him and bestow on him the title of councillor of the military committee; he flatly refused. In 1945, Chiang Kai-shek received him several times in Chongqing, conferring on him the high post of adviser in the military committee, but Comrade Du Bincheng refused to be bought over the scolded Chiang sharply by speaking straight-forwardly for justice. In an interview with the reporter of the "Joint Issue of QINFENG RIBAO and GONGSHANG RIBAO" in Xian in February 1946, Comrade Du Bincheng laid bare the vicious motive of the KMT authorities in the practice of carrying out democratic constitutionalism, pointing out: "In the world and China, democratic trends are today surging forward like a seeping tide, which no one can hinder so long as concerted efforts are made to bring about the realization of democratic constitutionalism." This open statement of Comrade Du Bincheng evoked wide repercussions from the people of all circles in the northwest and other parts of China and also made Chiang Kai-shek and Hu Zongnan greatly panic-stricken. In 1947, he was illegally arrested on the second day after Yanan was invaded and occupied by Hu Zongnan. He waged a staunch struggle in the enemy's court and prison, presenting his views vehemently and openly: "The policy of the China Democratic League is to cooperate with the CPC in order to attain the goal of peaceful reunification." He also pointed out sternly: "The KMT should bear the full responsibility for the outbreak of the civil war, on 7 October 1947, heroically he gave his life for the liberation of the Chinese people. The whole life of Comrade Du Bincheng was heroic and laudable, just like the lives of the martyrs Li Gongpo and Wen Yiduo. As one of the leaders of the China Democratic League, he was not only the glory of the league but of the Chinese people also.

The militant course traversed by the two comrades--Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan fully shows that the veteran intellectuals of China, in their revolutionary careers, generally proceeded from patriotism and democracy toward understanding the irresistible law of history through continual study and revolutionary practice and eventually established the communist world outlook. Our intellectuals in the new period must also follow the example of Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan by holding high the banners of patriotism and communism, unceasingly pursuing studies and practice and advancing forward.

The revolutionary careers of Comrades Du Bincheng and Yang Mingxuan also show that we must have firm conviction in and unswerving loyalty to communism and the Communist Party and possess the spirit of sacrificing our lives to truth. This is the spiritual pillar of the revolutionary. We need this spiritual pillar in the revolutionary period, as well as in the current period of socialist construction.

In 1948, Comrade Yang Mingxuan ardently said in his eulogy for Comrade Du Bincheng: "Mr Bincheng and I were schoolmates at Beijing Normal University, colleagues in promoting education in Shaanxi and activists in developing the

democratic revolutionary movement in northwest China. Cherishing the same ideals and following the same path, we became bosom friends at an early age. We never swerved from the course of political integrity." Their profound revolutionary friendship fully embodies the fraternal relations of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing good and bad times" between the CPC and the various democratic parties and between the Communist Party members and the patriotic democrats. During the revolutionary period, our party established these fraternal relations with the nonpartisan friends and won success for the revolution. In the current new period of socialist construction, we must further consolidate and develop these fraternal relations and cooperation.

Let us unite and learn from the revolutionary spirit and noble character of Comrades Bincheng and Mingxuan, and let us further consolidate and strengthen our cooperation with the various democratic parties, nonpartisan democrats and all patriotic personages so as to struggle for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and for accomplishing the sacred mission of reunifying the motherland.

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PARTY AND STATE

SONG RENQIONG ON LEARNING FROM LUO JIANFU

HK251144 Beijing CONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Song Renqiong (1345 0117 4522): "Learn From Luo Jianfu's Spirit of Sacrificing His Life"]

[Text] On 7 September this year, GONGREN RIBAO published the merits of Comrade Luo Joanfu, expert from Shaanxi Lishan Microelectronic Company. The ideology and practice of this outstanding Communist Party member, who sacrificed his life for communism, shines with dazzling splendor on the people and deeply touch their hearts.

There are numerous unsung heroes in the scientific and technological front of national defense. They seek no personal fame or gain, quietly immerse themselves in hard work assigned by the party and the state, and contribute their youth and their lives to the science, technology and construction of national defense. Comrade Luo Jianfu was one of these outstanding representatives.

Luo Jianfu always placed interests of the party and the state above personal interests, studied assiduously, worked selflessly and even gave his all, until his heart stopped beating, to filling in the gaps in the fields of science and technology in the country's aviation industry. He always placed the interests of the people above personal interests, never forgot the people and was always utterly devoted to others without any thought of self. Like a spring silkworm spinning all its silk and a red candle burning to give its final light, he fought his whole life and contributed his all to the party undertakings. His life was short but full of a bright spirit for devoting himself to communism.

Our party is wholeheartedly serving the interests of the people and its final goal is to realize the social system of communism. To wholeheartedly serve the interests of the masses and to fight to the end for communism is the sacred duty of a Communist Party members. The nature of our party determines that its members should devote themselves to communism.

Such a spirit of devotion is essential to both the years of revolutionary war and the period of peaceful construction; it is also indispensable to both the crucial moment and to daily work, study and life. Comrade Luo Jianfu was an engineer working in the aviation industry who struck to his common fighting post, did his labor work with a communist attitude, treated others with com-

munist morality, governed all his life with communist ideology and closely integrated his words and deeds with lofty ideal of communism. Today, while we are creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, Luo Jianfu set a glorious example for us all for devoting himself to the cause of communism in a common fighting post.

In order to meet the character and demand of the new era of socialist modernization, the constitution adopted by the 12th CPC Congress has put forward more strict demands than any other in the past. While studying and implementing the new constitution of the party, party members, specially leading cadres, should measure themselves by their revolutionary spirit and lofty morality of Luo Jianfu, Zhao Chune and other outstanding party members and earnestly think it over: Am I a qualified party member? Have I still a long way to go? And what efforts should I make? After study, we should heighten the level of our communist ideology, strengthen our understanding of communist morality and enhance our exemplary vanguard role in the realization of the magnificent goal provided by the 12th CPC Congress and contribute our efforts to a turn for the better in party style and to strengthen the fighting force of party organizations.

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PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' RECALLS PRC FEUDAL SOCIETY

HK040810 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Bai Gang [4101 6921]: "A Probe Into the Prolonged Existence of China's Feudal Society"]

[Text] The discussion on the prolonged existence of China's feudal society dates back to the famous polemics on the history of society in the early 1930's. Subsequently, before the outbreak of the Lugouqiao incident, Shuji Akisawa, a spokesman for the Japanese imperialists, created the fallacy of "'Asian' stagnation in China's society" and advocated that only "the force of the Japanese Army" could bring "a final end to the stagnation peculiar to Chinese society," thus providing a theoretical basis for the Japanese imperialists' invasion of China. Progressive historians and patriots in the country ruthlessly criticized the fallacy, setting off a second wave of discussions on the prolonged existence of China's feudal society. In the 1950's and early 1960's, discussion was once again held on the issue under the guidance of the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend." However, this discussion was halted by the 10 years of turmoil. The issue was once again raised after the smashing of the "gang of four" and this is the fourth discussion we are holding.

1. Several Problems of Tendency

It must be acknowledged that according to academic papers and works already published, there have indeed been some serious theoretical and methodological defects in the present discussion.

Methodologically speaking, the issue of the prolonged existence of China's feudal society is actually an issue belonging to the field of socioeconomic history, that is, the issue of why the feudal mode of production did not dissolve to be replaced by the capitalist mode of production. In order to solve this problem, we must use the basic method of historical materialism to conduct a scientific investigation into the appearance, development and characteristics of the feudal mode of production in China. However, some comrades hold that this means getting into a rut of "causative analysis" and "inductive method." They are discontent and attempt to break out of this mold. As a result, they abandon the materialist analysis of history, indulge in the wildest fantasies and do unorthodox things instead of probing into history in a historical, logical and dialectical manner. For example, they make analyses of various historical phenomena and events using the control theory instead of historical

materialism. As a result, they see society as a mixture of various casually-combined and mechanically-integrated social factors, not as a constantly-developing living entity. Therefore, they are unable to correctly uncover the law of socioeconomic development or discover the correct answer to the problem of the prolonged existence of China's feudal society. They have introduced to the field of history concepts and terminologies from other academic and scientific fields, such as the "ultra-stability system" and "...mechanism." As internal connections between historical events cannot be summarized using these concepts and terms, they are of no objective significance and less convincing. Obviously, when authors use these terms to explain historical phenomena, they cannot get a correct synthesis of certain historical phenomena. Of course, we do not oppose the introduction of some cognitive means of other academic and scientific fields to historical research as a supplementary means in our research work. For example, we may exploit electronic technology to establish historical information storehouses, compile statistics and draw charts. However, while introducing cognitive means of other academic and scientific fields, we must grasp the entire contents of the research subjects and not stick to trivialities to abandon the methodology of historical materialism. This is the first point.

Second, while probing into the problem of the prolonged existence of China's feudal society by comparing China with foreign countries, these academic papers and works fail to make clear whether it is appropriate to compare the historical periods of the countries ready for comparison and neglect the fundamental tenets of unity and diversification in historical development so as to advocate the theory of West Europe as a center. They contend that only the feudal era in West Europe was "typical and normal," and the feudal society in China was "abnormal and anomalous" because the process of Chinese feudalization was often interrupted by the peasant wars, and there had never been in China's feudal society a situation of peasant enslavement, formation of manors and political diversification as there was in West Europe after the ninth century A.D., hence there was no completion of feudalization and an endless process of feudalization, which led to the prolonged existence of China's feudal society. From the viewpoint of world history, there are three types of feudal systems, namely, the Asian type established on the basis of rural communes, (such as in India and Java) the West European type established on the basis of the Suzerain system and the Chinese type established on the basis of the landlord system, the last being the most developed. As far as China's specific historical conditions are concerned, because China has been a united and multinational country since ancient times and development in different areas of various nationalities was uneven, a complicated situation existed: the feudal society of the Han in Central China belonged to the landlord system; the feudal society of the Zang nationality [the Tibetans] belonged to the Suzerain system and the feudal society of the DAI nationality [a minority in Yunnan Province] belonged to the Asian system. History is so complicated objectively that it is absolutely inappropriate to deny the West European criterion on the special qualities of the landlord system in Chinese feudal society on the grounds of the difference between the Chinese feudal society of the Hans and that of West Europe, and contend that Chinese feudal society was in an endless process of feudalization and was never completed. A correct comparison or study should be an exposition of similarities and differences between Chinese feudal society and West European feudal society as well as an analysis on the common laws and specific characteristics of the feudal societies in various countries, but not the negation of one side because of a comparison with the standard of the other side.

Theoretically speaking, a number of views raised in recent years are by no means "new creations" as praised and commended by some comrades but are actually the repetition of those views which were thoroughly criticized by Marxist historians in the two polemics in the 1930's and 1940's. Some views are as follows:

1. The theory of destruction caused by the peasant wars.

Some people publish one article after another, repeatedly advocating: "The prolonged existence of China's feudal society had something to do with sharp class struggle and frequent peasant wars." "Due to its low starting point in feudal economy, plus less peasant wars, West Europe entered the capitalist society first; whereas with a high starting point in feudal economy and frequent peasant wars, China was unable to develop into a capitalist society." Some others contend: "Every large-scale peasant uprising seriously interrupted the process of feudalization, ruined the achievements already made in feudalization and forced the society once again back to its starting point." They also hold that from the long-term historical viewpoint, "the peasant wars did not push forward the advance of history, instead, they hampered the progress of history to certain extent," and "protected the feudal rulers."

These views are not new. As early as in the late 1920's, Soviet scholar Kan Tuo Luo Wei Ya [0974 2094 5012 4850 0068] put forth the idea that people's uprisings "should first be considered as a factor of China's political and financial system and a means to balance the system," and "they have the bandit nature and were destructive." In China, Wang Lixi held that the "occasional peasant revolts" caused prolonged stagnation in China's feudal society. In addition, Mo Feisi and Chen Gaoyong also held that the "peasant revolts" and "periodic damage" caused history to repeat itself.

2. The theory of no completion of feudalization in China.

Some people raise the view: The Chinese feudal society "had never reached the degree of feudalization as West Europe did after the ninth century A.D., that is, China never completed feudalization." Some others contend: "The process of feudalization was one in which large feudal land ownership developed and the liberal peasants were reduced to be the tillers of feudal land production." They also contend that China experienced many relapses from the Qin Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty and the process of feudalization lasted more than 2,000 years without completion. This view was raised by a Soviet scholar, Safanov, in his work "history of the development of the Chinese society" in the early 1930's. Safanov, drawing a parallel to the process of original capital accumulation in the development of capitalism, raised the idea that "every replacement of a dynasty in China was necessarily accompanied by the process of the original feudal accumulation." He contended that "every replacement of a dynasty caused land desolation and economic recession," and led to the repeated appearance of "new feudalization," thus plunging China into an endless process of feudalization and prolonged stagnation.

3. The theory of geographical conditions being decisive.

Some people contend: "Geographical conditions played a decisive role in the role in the early maturity and slow disintegration of the Chinese feudal

economy." This theory on geographical conditions being decisive was very popular among some non-Marxist scholars in the 1930's. For example, Wang Lixi once wrote: "Why was it impossible for China to spontaneously develop into an industrial capitalist era?" "I think that...it was impossible to establish several opposite independent states within China due to its geographical conditions. Therefore, it was not necessary to expand overseas development."

4. The theory of the circulation of history.

Some people hold that Chinese history was bogged down in "repetitive circulation" and "a predicament beyond redemption," and the Chinese feudal society continued its existence in place of peace and turmoil and repetitive circulation." This theory of the circulation of history as expressed in religious terms was very popular in the 1930's. Li Lizhong held that the revolt of the vagabond peasants and herdsmen "constitutes the main reason why the Chinese society experienced a circular development in the past." Mo Feisi and Chen Gaoyong contended that "the peasant revolts brought about the circulation process in China."

5. The theory of the basis of small-scale peasant economy.

This view is quite popular at present. Those holding this view contend: "The totalitarian central dictatorship in China's feudal society was established on the extensive basis of a small-scale peasant economy." "The periodic replacement peace and turmoil, rise and decline of every dynasty" was decided on this economic basis. Some others contend: "The prolonged existence of a small-scale peasant economy was the main reason why the economy in Chinese society experienced slow development and stagnation for a long time." As a matter of fact, as early as in the 1930's, Li Lizhong, a devout disciple of Tao Xisheng, once said: "China's economic basis was small-scale peasant economy in agriculture. This is the historical fact known to all. When the commercial capitalist society established on this basis was conquered by the nomadic tribes with a backward means of production, "it experienced stagnation, cessation and retrogression."

In addition, there are the superstructure and other theories being used as the decisive factor. The origin of all these theories can be found in the first polemics on the issue of "the prolonged stagnation of the Chinese society" in the 1930's. These facts have shown a tendency in the current discussion, that is, the serious retrogression in theory, the source of which is the negligence of studying the theory of Marxism. In recent years, as a result of slackening efforts to study Marxism-Leninism, some non-Marxist views or even those views which were criticized by Marxist historians long ago have once again appeared in the historical sphere in new attire. All this shows that it is very necessary to once again promote the study of Marxism.

2. The Basic Reason For the Prolonged Existence of China's Feudal Society

Obviously, it is impossible to answer the question of the prolonged existence of China's feudal society with one or all of the above-mentioned views. A scientific answer can be found only with the integration of the basic truth of

Marxist historical materialism and the concrete historical reality of Chinese feudal society. In the living and material conditions of the society, what is the main force which decides the development from one system to another in social appearance and social nature. "Historical materialists hold that this force is the way to obtain the necessary living materials people need for their existence, that it is the mode of production of such materials as food, clothing, shoes, houses, fuel and instruments of production necessary for social existence and development." While making an analysis of the effect of disintegration produced by commerce on a feudal society, Marx pointed out: "To what extent commerce will disintegrate depends, first of all, on the strong nature and internal structure of the mode of production. In other words, where the integration process will lead, or which mode of production will replace the old one does not depend on commerce, but depends on the old mode of production itself." Therefore, if we want to probe into the reason for the prolonged existence of China's feudal society, we must first of all study the characteristics of the mode of production of Chinese society.

The mode of production consists of productive forces and relations of production. This is the basic decisive force in society. Lenin once made a comparison between the feudal system and the capitalist system, pointing out the general characteristics of the feudal mode of production. They are: 1) natural economy constitutes a dominant position; 2) direct producers "must be confined to land"; 3) "ultra-economic restriction must be imposed"; 4) "the extremely backward and stagnant technology" formed on the restrictions of small-scale production. Among them, "natural economy" is meant for the integration of the scattered individual, small-scale agriculture and household handicrafts under the land-rent system, in which a household becomes a basic economic unit in feudal society and the value of a product is mainly its use value, not its exchange value. These common characteristics can be seen in almost every feudal society of various countries in the world. The problem is that except for these general and common characteristics, are there any other specialities in the mode of production of the Chinese feudal society? This is the crux for the prolonged existence of China's feudal society.

Marx said: "Of all social forms, there must be a certain production which governs all positions and influences other production, hence its relationship governs the position and influence of other relationships.... To a nation which engages in settlement tillage--such a settlement is progress itself--as in an ancient society and feudal society, settlement tillage is in a dominant position and the industry, the industrial organizations and the corresponding forms of ownership there all bear the nature of land ownership to some extent." Therefore, feudal land ownership was the core of the feudal mode of production. In China, the landlord system constituted a dominant position in the feudal mode of production and its own characteristics not only reflected the special characteristics of various economic relationships in agricultural production, but also influenced handicraft, commerce and city appearance, even making superstructure and state form adapt to the nature of land ownership. In the final analysis, the basic contradiction of the feudal mode of production was the contradiction between individual small production and land ownership by a landlord. The movement of the basic contradiction exerted a decisive influence on the speed of development in feudal society.

Compared with the Suzerain system popular in West European countries, land ownership by a landlord in Chinese feudal society was not so stable as the feudal manor and the allotments to feudal lords in West Europe. Due to the Chinese tradition of treating descendants as a good luck, the system of equal share for each son and the system of separating households and dividing estates became a regular practice in China's feudal era. Furthermore, since the Shangyang reform [during the warring state period] and the carrying out of the "elimination of the 'nine squares' system [a land ownership in China's slave society with one large square of land divided into nine small squares] and the advocacy of free land deals among masses," the free land deals and land annexation derived from the free land deals became a basic characteristic of land ownership by a landlord in Chinese society. This characteristic decided the constant fluctuation in land ownership power and the fluctuation in land ownership, and in turn, furnished the land ownership by a feudal landlord with amazing resilience and powerful vitality.

Another characteristic of the land ownership by a landlord in Chinese feudal society was its close association with commercial profits and high usury interests. In other words, landlords, merchants and usurers were closely linked together with commercial profits and high usury interests were continuously transformed into land rent. "The basis of feudalism is agriculture." For more than 2,000 years, the saying of "with a little bit to make a fortune and with capital to maintain a business" was the motto of all merchants and usurers. Usually they used commercial profits and high usury interests to buy lands and became landlords. It is thus clear that the merchants in China's feudal era were different from the merchants of the late middle age in West Europe, who "played a revolutionary role in a previously stagnant society resulting from past history." Merchants in China's feudal era had never played such a role. Conversely, as the result of their profits was changed into land rent, the resilience of the land ownership by the landlord was thus strengthened. Similarly, unlike the late middle ages of West Europe, usury in China's feudal society "played a role of damaging and disintegrating the ancient and feudal wealth as well as ancient and feudal ownership." As the usury interests were invested in land, it played the same role as the merchants in strengthening the resilience of the land ownership by a landlord.

The integration of landlords, merchants and usurers made the feudal mode of production in China more complicated. Landlords became concentrated holders of the various types of social wealth. Commercial profits and usury interests were unable to form an independent force to deal a destructive blow to the feudal mode of production. Instead, they provided landlords with more means for exploitation and became the supplementary means of land rent. Objectively, they played a role of consolidating the land ownership of the feudal landlord.

More than that, on the premise of free land deals, the class status and economic conditions of various classes in China's feudal society were not like that of West Europe, where the aristocracy remained an aristocracy forever; so did the populace and slaves. On the contrary, they were always changing, and "because people shared uncertain poverty and wealthy, land changed hands every minute." It is known to all that bureaucratic politics were practiced in China's history, not aristocratic policies. The rise or decline of the economic status of the political bureaucrats changed along with their political honor or dis-

grace. There appeared in ancient China the cases of "a commoner becoming a general or a minister," which was hard to imagine in West Europe. Particularly after the establishment of the imperial examination system, it was a common occurrence that a commoner once became a bureaucrat, adding fresh blood to the landlord class and representing a major force in land annexation. Therefore, it was a certainty that bureaucrats were landlords in China's feudal era. Due to the changes in the economic status and class status of various classes, after a group of old landlords faded away, another group of landlords would appear. The resilient characteristic of the land ownership by a feudal landlord was thus manifested in the replacement of old landlords by new ones. The economic basis decides the superstructure. As long as the land ownership by the feudal landlord, the core of the feudal economic basis, remained unchanged, the nature of the feudal society would not be changed. In China's feudal era, the exploitation of land rent under the land system of a landlord was the major form whereby peasants, as individual small laborers, were exploited. In a mixed economic form of the land ownership by a feudal landlord, commercial capital and usury capital, individual peasants must hand in as rent to landlords all the products of their surplus labor. In addition, they had to pay as commercial profits and usury interests to the same masters part or even a great part of the products of their required labor. Relying on the three means of commercial profits, land rent and usury interests, landlords thus extorted the products of all the surplus labor and a great part of required labor from individual peasants and downgraded their standard of living to the minimum of just maintaining physiological requirements, thus hampering the development of productive forces in agriculture. For more than 2,000 years, owner-peasants were always in a process of disintegration, due to extortion of heavy taxes. Although a small part of owner-peasants might become landlords, the greater part of them were on the brink of bankruptcy and gradually became tenant-peasants.

Lenin once said: In the transitional period from a feudal society to a capitalist society, "the bankruptcy of peasants heralded progress in agriculture." But owner-peasants incurred frequent and many bankruptcies in China's feudal society. In the late middle ages, bankrupt peasants swarmed into cities in West Europe. However, due to the confinement of China's feudal mode of production, China's feudal cities, unlike commune cities and industrial cities in the West Europe, did not become "revolutionary factors" to promote the development of capitalism and the extinction of the feudal system, but to become cities under the system of prefectures and counties [a system of local administration which took shape during the spring and autumn and the Lin Dynasty] and political centers of various feudal ruling classes. Official handicraft industry and commerce catered mainly to the needs of the feudal ruling classes at various levels. It was, therefore, not easy for bankrupt peasants to settle down in cities. As a result, they were either tortured to death in ditches and ravines or became vagrants, thus creating distress and recession in agriculture. Because owner-peasants gradually became tenant-peasants instead of agricultural workers, and the integration of bankrupt tenant-peasants' individual small agriculture with the household handicraft industry became more and more close, they were, therefore, unable to become the representatives of the new productive force and create a new mode of production.

All in all, the internal structure and durability of the above-mentioned Chinese feudal mode of production was the basic and crucial internal factor for the prolonged existence of China's feudal society. Naturally, in addition to this, some other minor factors also played their roles. For example, we must take into account such factors as China being unified and a multinational country ever since ancient times, and hence the uneven economic development of different nationalities and areas, and the adverse effect of feudal totalitarianism. However, compared with the internal structure and its durability of the feudal mode of production, these factors are after all minor ones and less important.

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PARTY AND STATE

'HEBEI RIBAO' ON SEPARATION OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

HK021329 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 82 pp 1, 4

[Report by reporter Zhang Wenguang [1728 2429 0342]: "Division of Work Between Party and Government Must Go Ahead--Investigation of Division of Work Between Party and Government at Prefectural and County Level in Shijiazhuang Prefecture"]

[Text] By conscientiously solving the problem of a lack of distinction between party and government and the party taking the place of the government, the prefectural and county levels in Shijiazhuang Prefecture have strengthened party work, brought into play the functional role of the government, aroused enthusiasm in all sectors, promoted the development of all types of work and laid solid foundations for the restructuring of organizations.

The Problem of the Party Taking the Place of the Government Must Be Solved

Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and especially after studying and implementing the guidelines of the Central Committee on separating party and government and overcoming bureaucratism, party committees and administrations at prefectural and county levels in Shijiazhuang Prefecture have done a great deal of work in this respect, and the problem of the party supplanting the government has changed. However, because of an inadequate understanding of the great significance of this question, and the influence of force of habit, the problem remains serious. Some purely government work is still being studied by party standing committees and many professional meetings are held jointly by the prefectural party committee and administrative office. This year, the administrative office has not held any independent meetings on agriculture and even the popularization of the rotation of Zhengding cotton, spring barley and "Hebei No 10 wheat" was decided at a meeting held jointly by the prefectural party committee and administrative office. Some economic, administrative and professional work meetings are also attended by the secretaries and deputy secretaries of county party committees, and speeches are delivered by the secretary and first secretary present. Many specific vocational jobs must also be approved by the secretary and first secretary. If certain work cannot go forward, instead of supporting the government to sort it out, a meeting is called in the name of the standing committee and the matter is taken care of by the party committee. Besides that, too many documents are issued jointly by the party committee and administration. Up to July this year, the prefectural party committee has issued a total of 105 documents, of which more

than 30 are joint documents. Some government departments are also directly controlled by related departments of the prefectural party committee, hindering the direct and efficient execution of their duties. This state of affairs is even more serious in various county and administrative office bureaus. Most of the meetings here are conducted wholesale, and decisions big and small are made by the number one man. People say: "The party secretary is now doing the work of the administrative director, and the administrative director is doing the work of the bureau chief." In studying the division of work, the Luancheng County Party Committee has summed up "four things they will not divide" and "two things they will do without exception." That is, they will not divide authority, work, meetings and matters regardless of magnitude; and in all matters big or small, they will without exception place the secretary in command and let the party committee assume responsibility.

There are many reasons for this kind of situation, mainly:

1. The disastrous effect of political campaigns. In the anti-rightist struggle, criticising words and actions which opposed or broke away from party leadership was correct, but condemning correct views and normal exercise of authority as "refusing to obey the leadership of the party" left the people bewildered and lost and even now, there is still lingering fear. Particularly during the "cultural revolution," the "revolutionary committees" monopolized party, government, financial and cultural power and practiced "unified" leadership. "Unified" subsequently turned into "one man rule."

2. The role of tradition and force of habit. During the war years, the period of the war effort and the cooperative movement, "work was initiated by the secretary and the commune was run by the whole party." At that time, because cadres were few and tasks were heavy, this method of doing things was correct. After a long time, this developed into a habit and people invariably feel that work can be better carried out if the party committee is directly involved.

3. The influence of feudalism. Because feudal despotism existed for a long time in our country, the patriarchal leadership style and small production mode of management are now deep-seated. Some party committees are affected, and although they delegate work to lower levels, they delegate only the duties but not the authority and are wary of giving them a free hand.

The serious consequences are:

1. The government's are tied and its role weakened.

2. Party leadership is weakened, resulting in the party not administering its own affairs. The party's work at grass-roots level is poor and the exemplary role of party members as well as the role of the party branch as a fighting force cannot be brought into play. The phenomenon of laxity and weakness exists universally throughout the region.

3. Due to the inability of the party to do follow-up work, the implementation of the party's line, policies and principles is affected and there is no effective guarantee for economic work.

Division Without Rigidity and Integration Without Confusion

In the division of work, the party committee and government at the prefectural and county level in Shijiazhuang Prefecture have encountered and solved some problems of unclear divisions and areas difficult to divide.

1. The shift of emphasis in the work of the party does not mean monopolizing economic work. Some cadres generally think that the shift of emphasis in the work of the party involves taking personal charge of economic work. This is the main obstacle to the separation of party work from government work. The prefectural party committee holds that as the highest organizational form of the Proletariat, the Communist Party is not an economic organization or a production setup. It is necessary to uphold party leadership, but leading does not mean replacing. If those who are led have been replaced, there is no leadership. Party leadership is essentially political leadership, and this can be achieved by means of line, policies and principles as well as political and ideological work. The party committee must properly grasp the work of party affairs, help the economic departments to formulate and implement policies and principles and carry out political and ideological work in the economic sphere. This is what is meant by shifting the emphasis to economic construction. For example, in agricultural work, the party committee should lay stress on perfecting, consolidating and upgrading the party's organizational construction and responsibility system. All other production matters are best handed over to the government.

2. Undertakings of the whole party and the whole people must be tackled by both party and government. Family planning is a matter of importance to the whole party and the whole people, and the party committee cannot push it aside. In its work, the party committee should by emphasis on formulating policies and getting the party and CYL members to set the pace, while government departments should carry out specific jobs one by one. After the work has been divided, the prefectural and county party committees should still have a secretary or deputy secretary in charge of this work, the administrative office should have a deputy administrative director and the county should have a deputy county administrator in charge of deciding priorities, formulating policies and convening large-scale meetings. All important documents must be jointly prepared by both sides and the rest of the work can be carried out by the government.

3. During key periods, making concerted efforts does not mean monopolizing work. In times of war, and famine due to crop failures and pestilence, there is no doubt whatsoever that the party, government, army and civilians must make concerted efforts. For example, if the "three autumn jobs," the "three summer jobs" and the crucial periods in industry and finance are not handled properly, this is not the affair of a single department. At such times there should be concerted efforts. The role played by the party committee at such times is not in the field of labor, but consists in taking complete charge of the overall situation, organizing, mobilizing and helping the government departments to solve problems occurring in work.

4. There must be appropriate administrative organs to deal with temporary tasks, but they must not exceed the scope of their functions. As undertakings are developed, problems of unsuitable setups are frequently encountered. The

Shijiazhuang Prefectural Party Committee and administrative office formerly set up certain leadership groups and temporary offices. Most of them have taken over the leadership work of the departments, and temporary organs have supplanted the regular organs. This has resulted in needless duplication, overstaffing and the phenomenon of wrangling and passing the buck. In the division of work between the party and government, the prefectural party committee and administrative office have carried out a study of the small groups and offices one by one. Apart from the offices in charge of "cracking down on criminal activities" and "implementing policies," they have suspended the work of all other offices and handed them to the functional departments. When similar problems are encountered in the future, they have adopted the principle that the affairs of a certain department should belong to that particular department, and if the department cannot handle the work on its own, it should be jointly carried out by all departments concerned, but the work must not be carried out by many departments together. When setting up a leadership group of senior cadres, the Luancheng County Party Committee transferred a deputy director from its organizational department and a bureau chief from its personnel bureau to be in charge of this work. This could be regarded as a "small group" for the upper levels and as an administrative organ for the lower levels. In fact, it is still the affair of the organizational and personnel departments.

5. Reduce the overlapping of duties; tasks must be clearly defined. The situation in which a deputy party committee secretary is also the leading member of a government department, or a departmental leading member is also a standing committee member of the party committee, is universal. Based on division of work and specialized knowledge, the prefectural party committee has decided to gradually reduce the holding of too many concurrent posts. If this cannot be solved straight away, tasks must still be clearly defined. Tasks must not be allowed to overlap because of overlapping duties. Members of the party standing committee who are also leading departmental members must devote their main energy to properly grasping the work of their own departments, and must not, because of their position as standing committee members, transfer the work of their departments to the standing committee.

6. Accept but do not rely on party leadership. As for the government departments, there is still the question of whether or not to accept party leadership after the division of work between the party and government. The policy of the administrative office and county government is to accept but not to rely on party leadership. Business which comes under the scope of government duties is not as a rule handed over to the standing committee of the party committee for discussion. With the exception of allround commendations and recording of merits, circulars on major issues, expressions of sympathy and solicitude for serious disasters, important holiday activities and problems which can only be solved through the joint efforts of both sides, they basically do not hold joint meetings or issue joint documents, and secretaries generally do not attend or make speeches at the meetings of the government. Problems which can be solved by the departments do not require party meetings or documents issued in the name of the party and government, neither do the leading members go and make speeches. However, the departments must ask for instructions from, and report what they want to do to, the government, and the government must ask for instructions from, and report what they want to do to, the party committee. They must accept party leadership but also rid themselves of the attitude of relying on party leadership.

A Profound Change

The careful division of work between the party and government has enabled the state machinery to operate normally and quickly, with the strengthening of party work, the party committee has been freed from tedious routine and can concentrate its energy on doing party work. The organizational department has placed strict demands on incumbent cadres, reorganized basic level party organizations and brought into play the fighting role of party organizations and the exemplary vanguard role of party members. The first secretary must grasp propaganda, study propaganda policies, pay attention to the building of spiritual civilization and, by means of the propaganda department, strengthen the theoretical study of ideological and political work and the training of political work cadres.

The functional role of government departments has been brought into play. There are less meetings and leading party committee members no longer attend government work meetings. The practice of reporting all meetings big and small to the county party committee has changed. Departments need only report to the leading member of their own department and work is completed by whoever is in charge. There has been less getting other people to take command and passing the buck and more initiative in assuming responsibility.

The phenomenon of wrangling and passing the buck has disappeared. In the past, the work of some administrative departments was run by the party committee, and the phenomenon of wrangling and passing the buck frequently appeared because of unfamiliarity with professional work, and poor management. Now, with the return of work to the government departments and with the party committee only looking after principles and policies, many problems can be readily solved.

Work efficiency has improved. In the past, everybody swarmed to the countryside to carry out work and the various fronts of the party, government, army, civilian and school were organized into groups in a unified manner. After they got to the countryside, they put forward many ideas but did little actual work. They often did not do what they were told and seldom shouldered responsibility, now, one person is doing the work of several and the task of a department is carried out by the personnel of that particular department. Because of their familiarity with vocational work, the work is carried out more smoothly, faster and better. Before the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the province, prefecture and county had to release a total of more than 100 people to implement a single rural policy in the county. After more than half a year, they had still not finished the work and left a lot of mess behind. Recently, the prefectural party committee has sent two work teams of several people each to Jingxing and Zhanhuang, and in less than 2 months, they have investigated and dealt with the complicated change from agricultural to non-agricultural status, and with serious economic criminal activities.

The innate work enthusiasm and initiative of the broad masses of cadres have been clearly manifested.

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON DEDICATION TO COMMUNISM

HK291403 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Liu Zhijian [0491 1807 1017]: "Foster the Revolutionary Spirit of Dedication to Communism"]

[Text] In the new historical period of socialist modernization, every revolutionary fighter of our PLA, and advanced elements and Communist Party members in particular, should play the role of active builders and defenders of a high degree of socialist material and spiritual civilization. They should act as people who strive to contribute toward creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. To accomplish this glorious mission assigned to us by history, we must strive to arm ourselves with communist thinking and develop ourselves into a new generation of idealistic, moral cultured and disciplined people--firmly, unswervingly and realistically fighting to the last for socialism today and for communism in the future.

How should we develop ourselves into new communist people consciously dedicated to the communist cause?

First, We Must Firmly Establish Great Communist Ideals

Ideals represent an individual's object of struggle, a reflection of his political stand and world outlook and the motivating force in his life. All through the ages, anybody who has achieved anything has cherished great ideals. But compared with our predecessors, our Communist Party members' ideals are many times greater. One of our dominating ideals is to fight for the realization of communism. Only with the realization of communism can the Proletariat and the laboring people achieve thorough emancipation, and only in this way will all mankind have a brilliant future. Therefore, the realization of communism is the most advanced, lofty and beautiful ideal of human society and is our spiritual pillar in uniting and fighting together. Only with such an ideal can a person find life meaningful and broaden his mind. And only in this way will one be willing to make sacrifices for the benefit of the people. Without great communist ideals, a person has no sense of revolution and lacks the correct direction and motivation to forge ahead. He is unable to correctly handle the relations between the individual and the collective, the individual and the organization, immediate and long-term interests, and partial and overall interests. He cannot stand up to problems, take a correct approach to setbacks,

humiliations, reverses and failures in life and work, or assume a correct attitude toward success, victory and praise. He cannot possibly have a thorough sense of democracy or an attitude of equality, or follow the mass line. He cannot distinguish between honor and disgrace. He cannot effectively resist corruption by decadent capitalist thinking and the capitalist way of life. Still less can he consciously give his all to communism.

To foster communist ideals, we must study hard and assiduously arm our minds with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought. The ideals mentioned by us are not religious superstitions nor objects of blind worship. Instead they represent a component of the Marxist world outlook. They are based on a correct understanding of Marxist scientific theory and of the objective laws for the development of human society and its inevitable trends.

It is of course commendable to participate in the revolution by solely relying upon simple class feelings and beautiful and benign wishes. But to just stay at this level is far from adequate and is unreliable. Only communist ideals based on training in Marxist-Leninist theory are reliable and capable of standing any drastic test. Some of our comrades fail to break out of the "narrow confines" of an individual and lack great revolutionary ideals. While individualism is to blame, the main cause is a poor grounding in theory and the lack of a profound understanding of communist ideology. We must seriously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and seek a good grounding in theory in a down-to-earth manner. On this basis, we must firmly foster the Proletarian world outlook and philosophy of life.

Second, We Must Consciously Foster Communist Values

A revolutionary bent on devoting his whole life to the struggle for communism must not only cherish great ideals but also have lofty moral principles. Communist morality is embodiment of a communist's ideals in revolutionary practice and is the norm for his behavior and the guiding principle for his life. Its essence is collectivism and the spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people that communists must uphold in handling the relations between people and between the individual and the collective. Its basic components are: warm love for the people and an everready desire to promote the well-being of the great majority of people in all matters at all times; keen love for labor and a labor attitude of working assiduously; passionate love for the collective and concern over and protection of public property; fervent love for science and the courage to uphold truth; ardent love for the socialist motherland and the patriotic spirit of placing the motherland's honor and idgnity above everything else; the internationalist spirit of caring for the laboring people of various countries; fraternal unity and delight in helping others; loyalty to the communist cause, the revolutionary heroic spirit of selflessness, the maintenance of a lofty sense of revolution; and so forth. Communist morality is a reflection of fundamental Proletarian interests. It serves a socialist economic foundation. It plays a tremendous role in stimulating the development of productive forces and science and technology, in consolidating and developing the political situation of stability and unity, in triumphing over the moral influence of all exploiting classes and cultivating a generation of new communist people and in promoting the revolutionalization, modernization and regularization of our army.

The 10 years of internal disorder have left deep wounds on people mentally and morally. In the process of turning chaos into order and building spiritual civilization, our party has devoted great efforts to healing the wounds and has achieved marked results. But in this respect, many problems still remain. Some people still fail to distinguish between right and wrong, between what is good or bad, and between glory and humiliation. For a time, there circulated on the social scene such ideas as that "all people are selfish" and "taking a subjective approach to oneself and an objective approach to others." The line of distinction between right and wrong was blurred ideologically and morally. This had an unhealthy influence on some people. Therefore, in fostering communist values, we must criticize bourgeois individualism and various kinds of selfish ideas and get rid of these spiritual impurities left over from the old society. Without criticizing egoism and without getting rid of such influence, we cannot keep our revolutionary ranks from maintaining a healthy system mentally.

"Taking a subjective approach to oneself and an objective approach to others" is a variation of egoism and is based on "everything for self" as a starting point. This viewpoint puts self-interest above everything else. In approaching a matter, we first see whether we can benefit. We act only out of self-interest. The term "an objective approach to others" is only a euphemism for egoism. It is inconceivable that a person motivated by "self-interest" would put the state first, the collective first and others first where personal interests clash with those of the state, the collective and others. It is all the more inconceivable that he would sacrifice his own interests and even his life in defense of the people's interests. Therefore, we can never tolerate the rationalization of egoism. Nor can we let it continue to poison people's minds.

Third, We Must Strengthen Training in Organizational Discipline

Discipline is established order that people should jointly observe and is the norm for behavior in carrying out orders and in strictly performing our duties. A different class or group in a different society has different discipline. Proletarian discipline is a source of spiritual strength and an important guarantee for the Proletariat in uniting the laboring people in the struggle for communism and is an important weapon for the empty-handed Proletariat in triumphing over the much more powerful bourgeoisie. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Uniform discipline is a prerequisite for the revolution." "Without discipline, the party has no way of leading the masses to join the army in waging a triumphant struggle." This is the perfect truth. It also represents the sum of our party's revolutionary experience acquired over several decades in leading the masses of people in waging revolutionary struggle. Without a conscious sense of discipline, our party cannot unify will and action. Neither can our army have the power to fight. Without a conscious sense of discipline on the part of the Proletariat and the masses of people, there is no hope for our cause.

Proletarian revolutionary discipline is an important guarantee for maintaining the people's common interests and taking good care of revolution and production. It embodies the organizational discipline for democratic centralism, the political discipline for the party Central Committee in maintaining political uniformity, the laws and decrees promulgated by the state, the army's three main rules

of discipline and eight points for attention, general rules, regulations and systems, social peace and order, social virtues, and so forth. For our army, army discipline, which is most strictly enforced and worthy of being called ironclad discipline, is absolutely necessary. Especially under conditions of contemporary war, given the modernization of weaponry, the great mobility of the army, the suddenness of war, and the quick changes on the battlefield, it is absolutely necessary to act upon an order given or carry out a prohibition imposed. Otherwise, a defeat in war will result. In fighting, a problem sometimes cannot be solved with just one more battalion or regiment added. But strict enforcement of discipline, resoluteness in carrying out an order and quick action can instead bring victory.

Proletarian revolutionary discipline is conscious discipline based on communist ideological consciousness. Without a high degree of political consciousness and without infinite loyalty to the revolutionary cause, there can be no conscious and strict discipline. We must strengthen the sense of revolution and the sense of political responsibility. Enforcement of discipline must be elevated to the plane where an order is quickly acted upon and a prohibition ordered is readily carried out, with a view to uniformity. We must correctly understand the dialectical relations between freedom and discipline, thoroughly eliminate the influence of anarchism and bourgeois liberalization, and subordinate ourselves to the unified will of the party and the revolutionary people. We must consciously overcome the small-producer habit of lax discipline, impose strict demands upon ourselves in all matters, undergo rigorous training, cultivate good habits and resolutely fight all acts that run counter to discipline. Only in this way can we better fulfill various fighting tasks with which we are charged by the party and the people, and only in this way can we ensure smooth progress in the building of a modern and regular revolutionary army.

Fourth, We Must Strive to Raise Scientific and Cultural Levels

Conscious dedication to communism calls not only for great ideals, lofty moral principles and strict discipline, but also for the enrichment of scientific and cultural knowledge to turn ourselves into builders of socialism that closely combine mental and physical work. Cultural and scientific knowledge is not only an important requirement for modernization but also a prerequisite for raising people's ideological consciousness and their level of moral training and discipline. It is entirely correct for the party Central Committee to treat the elevation of the whole nation's scientific and cultural levels as a strategic task and to treat cultural training as an important part of socialist spiritual civilization.

However, some people have regarded cultural training as contradictory with moral training and consciousness of discipline, saying that "given no culture, there would also be lofty ideals and morality...." This is not a Marxist viewpoint. In the Proletarian revolutionary cause, culture occupies an important place. In itself it is an important force in revolution. As far as the relationship between cultural training on the one hand and ideals, morality and discipline on the other is concerned, a given level of cultural or scientific knowledge is a prerequisite and a basis for understanding and practicing ideals, moral principles and discipline. A given level of cultural or scientific knowledge helps

people distinguish between right and wrong, between the genuine and the false, between good and evil, and between the beautiful and the ugly, and thus make a correct choice. The great communist fighters, Lei Feng and Wang Jie, cherished lofty ideals, noble moral principles and a conscious sense of discipline precisely because they tirelessly studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought and acquired cultural and scientific knowledge, drawing political nourishment therefrom and thus gradually developing a communist world outlook and philosophy of life.

Facts show that a rich cultural knowledge provides nourishment for the fostering of ideals, the shaping of character, and the cultivation of desired qualities. The richer a person's knowledge the more perfect he himself is. Without a cultural background and without knowledge, how can communist ideals, morality and discipline be cultivated and consolidated? In a state filled with illiterate and ignorant people, how can socialism and communism be built? For an army, culture is an important element in improving the political and administrative qualities of the army and enhancing its fighting power. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "An uncultured army is an ignorant one. As such, it cannot triumph over the enemy." Therefore, we should strive to draw wisdom and strength from the world of culture and knowledge, transforming the objective world and the subjective world and fighting better for the building of a modern and regular revolutionary army and for communism.

Ideals, morality, cultural training and observance of discipline form a perfect unified whole. They sum up socialist spiritual civilization to a high degree. They represent the main part of the "five stresses and four beauties" and the "four have's, three stresses and two afraids." They represent the direction of effort in building socialist spiritual civilization. They are an indicator of the existence or nonexistence of spiritual civilization and a guide, for that matter. Everyone bent on dedicating themselves to the communist cause must strive to develop themselves into a new communist person who is imbued with ideals, moral, cultured and conscious of discipline.

Dedication to communism is not a hollow slogan. It means concrete action. At present, we are meant to fight for the realization of the various fighting tasks put forth at the 12th CPC National Congress and for the building of our country into a highly civilized and highly democratic modern and powerful socialist country. As far as the army is concerned, we must "develop our army into a modern and regular revolutionary army and further enhance our army's capacity for self-defense under modern conditions." The commanders and fighters of our Kunming PLA units and the militia must strive to improve their ability to fight in tropical mountainous and hilly afforested areas. They must show warm love for the border areas, have peace of mind working in border areas and fight for the protection and building of border areas. This requires us to buckle down to work and fight in different combat posts in different departments on different fronts, starting with every little bit of work and advancing step by step in an effort to create a new situation in various fields of endeavor.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

BEIJING RADIO ON DISCIPLINE INSPECTION CONFERENCE

HK031028 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 23 Oct 82

[Text] The struggle against serious economic crimes in the municipality made considerable headway in July-September. Yesterday, the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee held a work conference on discipline inspection. The conference called on the CPC committees at various levels to continuously overcome slack moods and complacency, conscientiously sum up experience, work ceaselessly and unremittingly, push on in the flush of [word indistinct] and carry through to the end the struggle against serious economic crimes.

Over the past 3 months, the CPC organizations at various levels throughout the municipality have conscientiously studied the guidelines of the relevant instructions of the CPC Central Committee, overcome slack moods and obstruction and [words indistinct] leadership. The secretaries and standing committee members shared among themselves work with individual responsibility and took the lead in investigating and handling major cases, thus vigorously promoting the development of this struggle. So far, the major cases that have been wound up and thoroughly investigated account for 84.8 percent of the total. A breakthrough has been made in investigating old cases, and some achievements have been scored in [words indistinct]. The personnel [words indistinct] committed crimes have been punished according to party discipline and state law. Public security organs, procuratorial organs and [words indistinct] investigating and handling major [words indistinct], dealing a serious blow to the criminals and forcing them to largely restrain their illegal activities.

In order to more penetratingly develop the struggle against serious criminal activities, the conference called on the CPC committees at various levels to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress and further deepen their understanding of the importance of launching the struggle against serious criminal activities. It is necessary to closely link the struggle against illegal activities in the economic field with the reorganization of enterprises. It is necessary to know how the Maftla stands, inspect all loopholes, find new clues, ferret out the criminals and continually exploit the victories. It is necessary to continuously link this struggle with education in resisting corruption, constantly sharpen the ability of the numerous party members and the broad masses to resist corruption and prevent degeneration, and expose and denounce the criminal acts of sabotaging socialism in the economic and other fields. It is necessary to concentrate forces on hitting and ferret-

ing out those criminals who have committed serious crimes and have long succeeded in staying hidden. [Words indistinct] executive secretary of the municipal CPC Committee, spoke at the meeting. The responsible comrade of the preparatory group of the discipline inspection commission of the municipal CPC Committee talked at the meeting about the situation in the struggle against serious economic crimes from July to September and his suggestions for future work.

Responsible comrades of the CPC committees and discipline inspection commissions of the various capital construction bureaus, institutes of higher learning and factories and mines directly under the Beijing Municipal authorities, numbering more than 600 persons, attended the conference.

CSO: 4005/130

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ARTICLE VIEWS 'GENUINE SOCIALISM'

HK030406 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Xi Guangqing [1153 1639 1987]: "The 'Genuine Socialism' That Negates Socialist Practice"]

[Text] One of the essential characteristics of scientific socialism is proceeding from realities and taking actual social development as the basis of its theory. In contrast, a common characteristic of various kinds of sham socialism is proceeding from abstract principles, without taking real social movement as their basis. "Genuine socialism," which spread like the plague in the theoretical circles in Germany in the mid-and later 1940's, was such a petty bourgeois socialist sect.

The representatives of the "genuine socialist" sect, such as M. Hess, K. Grun, Hai Keligai [3189 0344 0448 5556] and so on, continued to develop conservative idealism of the German classical philosophy. They never took as the premise of their theories real social movement, but instead took German philosophy, especially Feuerbach's humanism, as the premise. They did not base their theories on the scientific study of the capitalist society, but instead on empty talk of abstract humanitarianism.

Their understanding of French socialist documents prominently gave expression to their divorce from real movements. They held that the French socialist documents were not the expression and outcome of real movements in French society but were products of pure ideology, which proved the one-sidedness of the French which needed to be improved by German philosophy. So, they inserted their own words into French theories and drew an idealist conclusion, saying that socialism "is real expression of philosophic ethics." Thus, that socialism was deprived of its essence and became phrases and words which had nothing to do with socialist practice and the workers' movement and could be used freely and wantonly, became empty philosophic words which did not represent true demands but the demand of truth, and which did not represent the interests of the Proletariat, but the interests of the common people. No wonder Marx and Engels said ironically that "genuine socialism" was no other than Proletarian communism "in the spiritual firmament of the Germans" "and a deformation in the mental firmament of the Germans." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 536-537)

The criticism of the German bourgeoisie by "genuine socialism" was another important example showing its divorce from the realities of social life. At that time, Germany was a feudal autocratic country. Although capitalism had developed to a certain extent in this country, the survival of feudalism still seriously existed. Under such [word indistinct], opposing feudal autocratic rule and establishing the rule of the bourgeoisie in industrial and political fields were the needs of social development and the progress of history. However, the "genuine socialists," who did not respect historical conditions and did not make concrete class analyses, cursed capitalism as a crime and advocated that the Proletariat should not take part in and support the struggle carried out by the bourgeoisie against the feudal autocratic system. Thus they became defenders of the reactionary German autocratic system.

The path the "genuine socialists" followed in reforming capitalist society also fully exposed their idealist essence, which was characterized by proceeding from abstract principles and disregarding the basis of social realities. Instead of seeking methods to eliminate the evils of capitalism from within the capitalist system, they developed some empty reasonings, saying that it was free social competition, rather than the capitalist system, which made egoism a common practice, made people gradually lose their nature--their mutual affection--and led to poverty, unemployment and bankruptcy. So, they held that if education, training and charitable activities were carried out and people regained their nature, people would sympathize with the poor, love mankind and show mutual affection. Then capitalism would peacefully develop into communism. Thus socialism, which was a real social movement and a revolutionary practice of the Proletariat in reforming the world, was struck out by them. What was left over was no more than the pure persuasive and ethical activity and the sermon of the philosophers who divorced themselves from social practice.

The ideal society of "genuine" socialists was "living in peace, possessing private property and having enough fields and a dwelling place." This was but an illusion of the petty bourgeoisie which was on the verge of perishing in the historical trend of capitalism and which was attempting to stop the development of capitalism in Germany in order to protect the small "paradise" of private ownership. Engels said that it was a "typical urban petty bourgeois" society.

Along with the development of the workers' movement, "genuine socialism" was becoming more and more reactionary. Marx and Engels began their struggle against this evil sect in 1845 and completely defeated it in theory in 1846. The 1848 revolutionary storm then cleared it all away.

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PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON REAPPRAISAL OF GUANGXU EMPEROR

HK031303 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Chen Kejin [7115 0344 6651]: "Guangxu Was a Patriotic Ruler"]

[Text] In the history of the Qing Dynasty, during his 10 years of rule, Emperor Guangxu, in the face of foreign aggression by Japan and the domestic upheaval of the reform movement, managed to conform to the historical trend by resisting foreign aggression and opposing servility toward foreign countries, by having the courage to initiate reforms and advocate learning from the West. Therefore, he should be regarded as a worthy and patriotic ruler, not as a feudal emperor who put in first place the "consolidation of his feudal power." This is the conclusion drawn by Yang Guangmei in his article "Brief Comments on Guangxu Emperor" published in this year's third issue of the "Journal of the Central Institute of Nationalities."

The article says that on the eve of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1895, Guangxu repeatedly warned that it was "absolutely insane" to rely on the intervention of Britain, Russia and other countries to curb Japan. After the outbreak of the war, Guangxu "spared no efforts to recruit and allocate pay for soldiers." In the wake of the Pyong Yong and Huang Hai sea battles, he deployed forces, established a defensive line on the Yalu River in the northeast China, strengthened defense in the south on the lower reaches of the Changjiang River, reinforced the defensive forces in Taiwan and attached great importance to gaining the initiative at sea. Even when the Chinese were defeated in the war, Guangxu did not despair, but insisted on fighting and opposing "peace negotiations." Threatened and coerced by the Japanese, Li Hongzhang signed the "Maguan Treaty," but Guangxu was determined to abrogate the treaty and fight again. Under the pressure of Empress Dowager Cixi and her like, Guangxu finally had no choice but to approve of the treaty. It must be acknowledged that Guangxu's approval of the treaty showed his weakness and was his one blemish. However, this is different from the surrender and compromise of Cixi, Li Hongzhang and their like.

The article also says that during the 3 years from the end of the Sino-Japanese war of 1895 to the eve of the "hundred-days reforms," since Guangxu had absorbed some reformist ideas, he was already suggesting and implementing certain measures

for reform. He made great efforts to select talented people, including those good at "official administration" and technical personnel with professional knowledge. More than that, he reorganized the army. On the one hand, he straightened out the existing army; on the other hand he established a "new infantry army" and approved Zhang Zhitong's establishment of a "self-strengthening army" in the lower reaches of the Changjiang River. This marked the beginning of the period of the Chinese learning from the West by establishing regular forces. None of these reformative measures taken by Guangxu deviated from the idea of "Chinese knowledge as the essence and Western knowledge for use." On the issue of developing industry, however, he laid stress on the practice of "inviting tenders for contracts," which showed that he was more farsighted than the Westernization faction. The rapid development of the national industry after the Sino-Japanese war of 1895 was certainly closely connected with this action by Guangxu.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL ZHOU HUI ATTENDS CYL CONGRESS

SK260528 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The seventh Nei Monggol Regional CYL Congress ceremoniously opened in Hohhot on 25 October. Attending the opening ceremony were some leading comrades of the regional party, government, army and CPPCC organizations, including Zhou Hui, Wang Duo, Kong Fei, Bu He, (Shi Shengrong), Shen Xinfu, Liu Huixian, (Lin Jili), Cui Bi and Qi Yongchun.

Attending the congress to extend greetings were some responsible comrades of the Regional Trade Union Council, the Women's Federation, federations of literary and art circles, [words indistinct], scientific and technical associations, Wang Jiangong, secretary of the secretariat of the CYL Central Committee, spoke at the congress.

(Liu Ren), secretary of the regional CYL Committee, presided over the congress and (Liu Yingshan), deputy secretary made an opening speech.

(Liu Yingshan) said: Major tasks of the congress are to listen to the work report made by the sixth Nei Monggol regional CYL Committee, speeches made by leading comrades of the regional party committee and the CYL Central Committee and a relayed report on the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, and to select the seventh Nei Monggol Regional CYL Committee and regional delegates to the 11th National CYL Congress.

According to the organic law of the congress, the preparatory meeting held on 24 October had approved the list of the delegates' credentials committee, the report on the preparatory work of the seventh CYL Congress, the list of the presidium and secretary-general of the congress and the agenda of the congress. The congress will last 6 days. In the afternoon, delegates listened to the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress relayed by Bu He, leading comrade of the regional CPC Committee.

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PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON PROMOTING COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

HK050823 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Qi Ping [4359 1627]: "Education in Communist Ideology and Existing Socialist Policies"]

[Text] The promotion of communist ideology is something which the nature of our party and country demands. Since the first day of its establishment, the CPC has resolved to struggle for the realization of communism. Of significance in this is that in China the communist movement started after the period of the new democratic revolution. Following the establishment of new China, the communist movement has greatly developed although it has also received very serious setbacks. Through summing up the historical experience of the past 30 years, the party's Central Committee has decided to insist on educating the people with communist ideology and using communist ideology to guide our undertakings. This is of great significance in the establishment of a socialist society in our country and in the realization of the four modernizations.

At present, our country is at the important juncture of creating a new modern phase of socialism and we sorely need a powerful and strong guiding ideology, that is to say, we need communist ideology to guide our establishment of a new phase in socialist construction. However, as a result of the 10 years of disturbance, the people's ideology has been confused and among some people there is a lack of confidence in communist ideology. People who have no conviction or belief can do nothing and cannot have a true ideology. Today, the task of our party is to make use of communist ideology to educate and to arm the people. This is indeed the most powerful spiritual pillar. Only in possessing a strong belief in communism can there be any confidence in the future. During the period of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong had already pointed out that we must "take a communist stand and use communist methodology to examine problems, to cultivate knowledge, to perform our work, and to train cadres." If it is said that at that time, propagation of communist ideology was aimed at guiding the democratic revolution to victory, then, similarly, our promotion of communist ideology today is for the purpose of consolidating and developing the socialist system and pushing the communist movement a step forward. At present, under the new condition of our country opening its doors to the outside world and enlivening its internal economy, some people, who are unable to distinguish clearly between the nature of socialism and that of capitalism, have blindly admired the West's so-called freedom, democracy and

material civilization, its worship of the dollar and materialism and its bending all the way toward the love of money. Under such circumstances, if we do not propagate communist ideology and do not educate the people with communist ideology, then it will be tantamount to letting the people be led astray by the capitalist class. If this development continues, then not only will we be unable to properly implement the policy of opening our doors to the outside world and the correct guideline of enlivening the internal economy but also the taking of the socialist direction and road will become a problem.

It must be remembered that in our country, feudal society existed for over 2,000 years and the semi-colonial and semi-feudalist society existed for over 109 years, whereas the spread and growth of communist ideology in our country has had a history of little more than 60 years. True, at its appearance in our country, communist ideology did immediately demonstrate its enormous vitality and rapidly developed in some 9.6 million square kilometers of territory. Nevertheless, since feudal ideology and capitalist ideology are deep-rooted, they not only have their own marketplaces but are also endowed with a definite force of resistance. If our party and government do not openly and clearly propagate communist ideology and make use of it to overcome feudalism and capitalist ideology, then feudalism and capitalist ideology will run rampant and occupy our battleground with the result that the entire socialist structure may be strangled to death. Indeed, all that has been said is not merely meant to scare other people. The lesson of the 10 years of disturbance should still be fresh in our memory.

Propagating communist ideology has been our party's avowed policy. However, at present we are still at the socialist stage and the communist society is quite a distance away. Hence, the series of policies on politics, economy and culture which our party has formulated at the present moment are all oriented toward the development of socialist society as their starting point. They form a constituent part of the communist movement, but at the same time they must be strictly separated from the communist system and from the communist ideological structure itself. Not to make such a distinction may cause confusion between the two stages of communist society and socialist society. It must be understood that progressing from socialism to communism will take a fairly long historical stage and can be realized only after strenuous efforts and struggles by several generations of people. Unfortunately, some people, lacking a sufficient knowledge of the prolonged and tedious nature of the communist movement, have entertained the thought that the passage to communism in our country is extremely easy. In 1958, the year which "blew the communist wind," some people thought of resorting to egalitarianism, or the measure of equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources, for the realization of communism. Also, during the 10 years of disturbance, some people attempted the so-called "transition in poverty." In both cases, the socialist construction enterprise was greatly deranged and lofty communist ideology was badly perverted. After suffering the bitter fruits of "blowing the communist wind" and "transition in poverty," we have gained in wisdom and certainly will not again attempt such foolishness! But historical lessons must always be remembered and in vigorously propagating communist ideology we must prevent "leftist" ideologies from emerging and interfering. We must not let the propaganda of communist ideology stand opposed to the existing policies. We must not entertain the

thought that allowing the existence of a collective ownership system, or even a little of the individual ownership system, is contradictory to the communist ideological structure. Moreover, we must not take the socialist distribution system of "pay according to work" as irrational. We must understand that in our country the policies now being implemented are part and parcel of the communist movement and constitute absolutely necessary measures in the transition to a communist society. Only through earnestly implementing all the policies formulated by the party at present can socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization achieve development.

Concerning policies, Engels in his dissertation "The Peasants' War in Germany" correctly pointed out the following, that if a policy formed "exceeds not only the present but also the future, then this excess is reckless and is but a fantasy. When this policy is put to trial for the first time, it cannot but be retracted to within the bounds permissible under the conditions at the time of its formation" ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 7, p 405). Naturally, it is baseless to urge that in propagating communist ideology, we must "cut the tails of capitalism" and therefore change the existing policies. Thus, the recklessness and fantasy seen at the time of the "blowing of the communist wind" and "transition in poverty" were the realization of Engels words and we have now actively retreated to "within the bounds" permissible under the conditions of the time. The guideline and policies formed at the party's 12th Congress are entirely workable under current social conditions. We must earnestly implement them and not change them at will. Our guideline is to determinedly and irrevocably hold high the banner of communism while at the same time to earnestly implementing the current socialist policies formulated at the 12th Party Congress and devoting our utmost efforts to the creation of a new phase of socialist modernization.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL SEVENTH CYL CONGRESS CONCLUDES

SK011228 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 31 Oct 82

[Text] The seventh Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CYL Congress successfully concluded in Hohhot on 30 October. Attending the closing ceremony were regional party, government, army and CPPCC leaders, including Zhou Hui, Ting Mao, Wang Duo, Kong Fei, Yun Shiyong, Bu He, (Shi Shengrong), (Qian Zhengyong), Shen Xinfu, Cai Ying and Kui Bi. Responsible persons of mass organizations, such as Regional Trade Union Council, Women's Federation, Federation of Literary and Art Circles and [words indistinct] were also invited to the ceremony.

A resolution of the seventh Nei Monggol autonomous regional CYL Congress on the work report was approved. The resolution stated that the most important task for the region's CYL organizations for the present and for some time to come is to lead the masses of CYL members and other young people of various nationalities to conscientiously study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, thoroughly implement its guidelines, vigorously plunge into the great struggle to create a new situation in socialist modernization and act as shock forces in developing the national economy and as vanguards in building the socialist civilization. It also stated that in order to fulfill this task we should uphold the steadfast spirit of the CYL and strive to build a very strong political force.

The congress called on CYL organizations at all levels and the masses of CYL members and cadres to hold high the communist banner, steel their fighting will, arouse their spirit, improve their work style, unswervingly follow the line of the 12th CPC Congress, unite more closely the masses of CYL members and other young people of various nationalities, open up a new situation in the region's CYL work with a brand new attitude and make still greater contributions to the realization of the three fundamental turns for the better and to building a united, prosperous and civilized Nei Monggol.

Zhou Hui, first secretary of the regional CPC Committee, spoke at the closing ceremony. Hundreds of lively young pioneers presented flowers as congratulations on the successful conclusion of the congress. Comrade (Zha-mu-su) delivered a closing speech on behalf of the seventh Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CYL Committee. He urged all CYL organizations to unite as one, develop achievements and overcome shortcomings, explore and practice bravely and strive to fulfill the tasks set forth at the congress.

In his speech at the closing ceremony, Zhou Hui encouraged delegates to the congress and the masses of CYL members and other young people of various nationalities to foster firm communist beliefs, unite as one, study diligently, display the spirit of doing solid work and strive to create a new situation in the region's CYL work and win an all-round victory in Nei Monggol's socialist modernization.

Comrade Zhou Hui pointed out: Young people are active in thinking and are quick in receiving things of the external world. This is a strongpoint. However, without the guidance of a correct ideology which suits the law of human social development and without [words indistinct], they will not know which way to go and will even take on evil ways. For this reason, the major tasks for CYL organizations at all levels are to consistently educate and arm young people with communist ideas in the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies and in the course of practice under the leadership of the party, so as to make them always bear firmly in mind the glorious name of the CYL and foster a firm belief in the realization of communism.

Comrade Zhou Hui said: Our country has entered a period of overall socialist modernization. People, young and old, face a task of studying anew. To the young people in the period of [words indistinct], successful study is particularly important.

On behalf of the regional CPC Committee, Comrade Zhou Hui called on CYL members and other young people throughout the region to take the lead in bringing about an upsurge in study. He urged all CYL organizations to adopt various forms to train CYL members and other young people in rotation. He said that all party organizations should strengthen leadership and support young people in the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought, of current affairs, policies and laws, of professional technology and managerial knowledge in industry, agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry and of general knowledge to improve their educational level and increase their ability to serve the people.

Comrade Zhou Hui stressed: CYL members should take the lead in strengthening unity and, together with Communist Party members, involve themselves in various fields of work concerning unity. With regard to the misunderstanding created during the 10-year turmoil, we should admit to our history, look forward with determination to resolving the misunderstandings in our generation. We should also refrain from adopting [words indistinct] toward the problems in nationalities. Through the conscientious study of Marxist theory and policy on nationalities, we should foster a firm proletarian outlook on nationalities and the viewpoint that all our nationalities are indispensable to each other. We should have a clear-cut stand and make no accommodation toward unhealthy words and deeds which are harmful to our cause. Party and CYL members should first of all avoid doing or saying anything harmful to unity and should wage necessary struggles against all words and deeds which interfere with or damage unity. We should strengthen the unity among various nationalities on the basis of (? correct principles).

Comrade Zhou Hui concluded that in order to fulfill the grand objective by the end of this century, we should do our own work in a down-to-earth manner. After reviewing the campaign to vie for shock workers launched among CYL organizations

in the past few years, he urged all CYL organizations to sum up their experiences and give them wide publicity so that the practice of doing solid work will become a good common social conduct. He encouraged CYL members and other young people across the region to regard doing solid work as a glory and to vie to be socialist men of action.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL CIRCULAR ON MEETING PLANS REPORTED

SK031028 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Nei Monggol autonomous regional CPC Committee recently issued a circular on convening a meeting in January 1983 with the participation of secretaries from various banner and county party committees throughout the region.

The circular states: The regional CPC Committee decided to sponsor a meeting in January 1983 with the participation of various banner and county CPC committees' secretaries. The meeting chiefly aims at organizing principal responsible cadres at or above banner and county level to further study and implement the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, and at examining and summing up work done in implementing the central authorities' instruction for the region in the period since the convocation of the secretary meeting of various banner and county CPC committees this spring.

The meeting also aims at examining and summing up the work done in the period since August this year in implementing the guidelines of the circular issued by the regional CPC Committee in regard to dealing with the Xinghe County corrupt case. Major items in the meeting agenda, in line with the 12th CPC Congress guidelines, will include discussions on devising ways to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, particularly devising ways to lay a solid foundation for creating a new situation in all of 1983. The meeting will concentrate on summing up experience gained in work, commending advanced units and individuals, conducting criticism and self-criticism and formulating plans for arousing the broad masses of party members, cadres and the people of various nationalities under the guide of the 12th CPC Congress guidelines to strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization throughout the region.

The circular urges party leading cadres at our above banner and county level, through studying the congress documents in the next few months, to upgrade their understanding on the party inner situation in the following aspects: 1) It is necessary to upgrade understanding on the party's final fighting goal, combat guidelines for the new historic period, strategic steps and its principles and policies; 2) It is necessary to upgrade understanding on the ideological consciousness of communism and the party's spirit; and 3) it is necessary to upgrade understanding on the importance of exerting confidence in achieving socialist modernizations and on the purpose of striving to fulfill various tasks

set forth by the 12th CPC Congress by heightening work enthusiasm, working with one heart and one mind, waging arduous struggles and doing things in a down-to-earth manner.

The circular points out: The meeting will emphatically engage in improving party workstyle. The issue of party workstyle is closely related to a matter of life and death for the party in power and also to the important question whether we are able to create a new situation in socialist modernization. At present, by studying the 12th CPC Congress documents, it is necessary to conduct extensive and penetrating education on ideology among all party members. Efforts should be made to wage resolute struggles against all malpractices, such as seeking private gains by taking advantage of position and power and violating the party's disciplines, about which the people have a lot of complaints.

The secretary meeting of banner and county party committees will vigorously encourage and commend advanced units and individuals emerging in improving party workstyle. It is necessary to commend a number of model party members among leading cadres at or above banner and county level who are selfless and serve the people wholeheartedly, and commend a number of leading bodies at or above banner and county level which have scored marked achievements in upholding the party's fine tradition and eliminating malpractices. Units that lag behind in grasping party workstyle and have serious problems should be properly criticized or educated.

The circular states: To fulfill the grand target of quadrupling industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century, the meeting will discuss our region's developing plans. Leagues and municipalities should formulate their plans with representative quality for developing their major production and submit these plans that may be printed in a book form to the meeting so that the participants of the meeting will carry out mutual studies and exchange experiences.

In conclusion, the circular states: To exchange experiences, pave a new road and draw up future tasks, the meeting urges various localities throughout the region to collect advanced or typical materials accumulated by areas and units at or above banner and county level, such as materials showing that industrial and financial and trade units have scored market achievements in conducting enterprise consolidation, steeling economic responsibility systems, combating egalitarianism and the practice of "all eat from the same big pot," upgrading economic results on a large scale and in switching losses to profits; showing that units and areas have had great success in implementing the principle of taking forestry and livestock production as main tasks in developing a diversified economy; that rural and pastoral areas have successfully fulfilled tasks for supporting urban areas and industrial production and expanding the channels of commodity circulation, and showing that units have succeeded in implementing the party's policy in other special fields. Efforts should be made to sum up these materials to affirm the superiority of their experience and to [words indistinct].

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PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

CHINESE STUDENT'S DEFECTION--The Ministry of Public Security recently found out that the defection of Zhou Lingfei from Japan to Taiwan to marry Taiwan college student Chang Chun-hua was a scheme carefully planned by the KWT and U.S. CIA agents and approved by Japanese security organ. Zhou Lingfei is Mr Lu Xun's grandson and a photographer for the PLA pictorial. [Text] [OW030947 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 1 Nov 82]

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